



ANIMAL ENCOUNTERS

*Contacts and Concepts in
Medieval Britain*

Susan Crane

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Animal Encounters

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Contacts and Concepts in Medieval Britain

Susan Crane

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Note on Citations

In quoting from medieval works, I have followed the modern distinctions between *i* and *j* and between *u* and *v*, I have expanded some abbreviations, and I have transliterated medieval thorn, eth, and yogh into modern letter forms. Translations into Modern English are mine unless otherwise noted. In translations, I use the pronouns *he* and *she* for animals when their sex is clearly evoked; when it is not, I prefer the sex neutral *it* over the putatively sex neutral *he*. I provide citations in their original languages, sometimes only in my notes when the verbal texture of the original appears to me less important than the content. Where the original publication of a scholarly work preceded its cited publication by more than ten years, the original date of publication is provided in brackets in the bibliography. Quotations from the Bible are taken from the Latin Vulgate and the Douay Rheims translation.

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Introduction

The people of medieval Britain lived in daily contact with domestic and wild animals. Forest and wasteland loomed over settlements, and even city streets teemed with all kinds of creatures. Scholars attempt to recapture this physical intimacy from its material traces. Archaeologists discuss paw prints on tile floors, zoologists use bones to estimate wolf populations, and historians reconstruct falcon keeping from household accounts. Medievalists who work primarily with imaginative writing have a role in this cross-disciplinary conversation. In recent decades the focus of literary studies has shifted from tracing intertextual relationships to mapping broadly material, social, textual, and embodied scenes of imaginative production. These scenes are inextricably lived and thought. Medieval writers (like writers today) had no animal experience, however physically immediate, that they did not apprehend cognitively as it unfolded. Conversely, there is no thinking—even in fabulation, in figuration, in the formal constraints of genre—that can entirely forget the living creature. But literary scholars sometimes seem to forget the animal, lured by how cogently the lion king and the preaching fox can comment on human behavior. Anthropomorphic roles have long been the star turns for literary animals. I seek instead to redirect attention from the animal trope's noisy human tenor back to its obscure furry vehicle.

Animal Encounters in Medieval Britain begins with a term that resists definition. *Animal*, synonymous with *beast* in Middle English, sometimes encompasses and other times contrasts with what is meant by *human*; the fate of each concept is bound to the other. Their tangled definitions have Classical and early Christian roots. Best known must be the concise version inherent in patristic exegesis and circulated as a maxim by the scholastics that “man is a rational animal”: what other animals are, the human both is (because a breathing, reproducing, mortal creature) and is not (because a rational creature).¹ John Trevisa's fourteenth-century translation of Bartholomaeus Anglicus places the human within the animal category: “All that is compounded of flesh and spirit of life, and so of body and soul, is called *animal*, a beast,

whether it be of the air like birds, or of the water like fish that swim, or of the earth such as beasts that go on the ground and in fields, like men and wild and tame beasts.”² But Trevisa incorporates also a distinction from other animals or beasts, crediting Isidore of Seville’s sixth-century *Etymologies*: “Isidore says that a man is a beast that resembles God.”³ Within and yet exceeding the category, this *man* is a beast who is enjoined not to be a beast: in a typically definitional move, the convert Tiburce in Chaucer’s *Second Nun’s Tale* opines of Christian revelation, “anyone who does not believe this is a beast.”⁴ Even when taken as binary opposites, neither category is uniform. Both collapse pluralities into deceptive unities. Their failures to designate make them most effective when used not descriptively but polemically; both terms make excellent packaging for fictions of identity, myths of origin, and beliefs about natural hierarchy.

And yet I have not been able to dispense with these paradoxically long-standing and ungrounded terms. In a few medieval contexts it is possible to resort to the *genus* and *species* of the Vulgate Bible’s Creation scene and the Middle English “kynde” for species difference.⁵ But most medieval conceiving happens on the troubled conceptual ground of *human* versus *animal*. It is hardly helpful to resort to scare quotes around “animal” or to new locutions such as the *arrivant*, the *strange stranger*, the *animetaphor*, and the *animot*: these locutions have made important points about one or another problem with the *animal*, but none can confront all its inadequacies.⁶ Likewise, I could acknowledge that the *human* fails persistently to be gender neutral by using *man* instead, reducing its potential field of reference by half, but *man* is hardly a stable designation that is never denied to male persons. I cannot find fine new terms that solve the referential problems posed in *animal* and *human*. Instead, I take the terms’ inadequacy as a persistent topic in my chapters, whether right up front in the argument or as components within related problems of cohabitation, classification, alliance, and ethics.

This book’s *encounters* are poised between cross-species contacts and thoughts about contact. Some encounters attend to lived interactions and some are largely fantastic. Several cohere in their curiosity about cross-species relationship, on the one hand, and difference on the other. What kind of mindfulness does a housecat have? Can a horse be said to know things about a rider? Even such familiar domestic animals pose mysteries of cognition and sensation. In other encounters, animals’ proximate strangeness raises ethical questions. When animals define the human by contrast, they are configured as humanity’s formative others—both unlike and importunately like the human. Can a dog know right from wrong? Does creaturely suffering enjoin humans

to compassion? In still other cases, animal encounters are commodified, ritualized, totemic, gustatory, and instructive in often conflicting ways. A swan can be a dish at dinner, an ancestor represented in a crest and seal, or a sign of good luck for sailors.⁷ In all these cases, *encounter* refers not only to animal-human relationship but to the relationship of text and living practice. The medieval works I discuss present their encounters sometimes as metaphoric or symbolic, sometimes as intimate and substantial. To leave figuration out of my discussion would be to falsify my texts, but I aim to move beyond figuration in conjoining the hunting treatise to the capacities of hunting hounds and the cat of lyric to the deep history of domestication.

Medieval Britain, as I search out its richest veins of animal thought, spans traditions from the eighth to fifteenth centuries, but without any teleology of “development” in perceptions of animals. Instead, differing milieus and genres engage animality in a heterogeneous convergence of analytical, intuitive, metaphorizing, didactic, and ethical modes that resists reduction to paradigms and teleologies. My *Britain* extends outward beyond its shores, first to recognize the vital role of early Irish evangelism in bringing Christianity to northern Britain, as I draw the earliest life of St. Cuthbert together with Irish hagiography and an Old Irish lyric of the monastic diaspora. Moving to Angevin England of the twelfth century, the Anglo-French fables and lays of Marie de France and an insular bestiary that may have been among Marie’s sources offer three arenas of overlapping and contrasting thought about human likeness to animals. The Hundred Years War presents a differently expanded Britain in my later chapters. Powerful currents of cross-Channel ambition, rivalry, and desire flow through English lineages and literary consumption in this period, conjoining English and continental French hunting treatises, romances, and chivalric works in a capacious frame of reference for high-status animals. These creatures bear marks of nobility; their presence enhances prestige and their death confers honor. By sampling Celtic, Roman, British, and Anglo-French cross-currents, I begin to chart the fascinating contours of medieval Britain’s animal encounters and to suggest how richly their subtleties would reward further study.

My chapters bring literary approaches to genre, language, gender, and culture together with perspectives from evolutionary biology, taxonomy, language acquisition, ethology, and environmental studies. Discussing a saint’s relationship with a raven as an environmental experiment, a bestiary in terms of Linnaean classification, and chivalric romances with reference to phenomenology may seem disorienting conjunctions, but in each case the medieval

works reveal new meanings as they are pressed into relationship with quite different kinds of work. In drawing on these several perspectives, *Animal Encounters* contributes to the emerging field of critical animal studies, a decentered set of endeavors that is just now coming into wide academic and public visibility.

If the term *animal studies* has an oxymoronic valence, that valence reflects the field's core claim: throughout their long history, the humanist traditions have tended to render nonhuman animals invisible to contemplation, unworthy of serious attention. Doubly rooted in antique philosophy and Biblical exegesis, humanism values the human by making a categorical and hierarchical distinction between humankind and all other kinds. The central question posed by animal studies is how to disrupt this deeply impacted hierarchy. From many directions in and beyond the academy, attempts are being made to envision a neo-humanism or post-humanism that would no longer conceive all life to be distributed in devalued contrast to humanity—a dichotomous premise that is as falsifiable as it is foundational. The radical cut of human exceptionalism, whatever it was, now appears inaccurate to the polymorphous multiplicity of the living, shot all through with differences but also with affinities and connections.⁸ In the long wake of Darwin and Freud, every trait that humanism has posited as our special mark of difference has been discredited, from tool making to deductive thought, laughter to culture making to self-awareness. *Human* can no longer designate a discrete and specifiable entity. This lost clarity opens humanism to new conceptions. The stakes are high for animals, whose treatment derives in part from humanism's anthropocentric measures of value and moral standing. The stakes are high as well for humankind: the founding human/animal dichotomy is so unstable that it has migrated all too easily *within* the human, to define as bestial certain slaves, women, colonials, criminals, and foreigners.⁹ Humanism's organizing principle, powerful as it has been for the good of many, has set aside vital questions of interspecies relationship, environmental practice, and ethical responsibility.

Animal studies often seek to reconfigure thinking about animals by turning interdisciplinary to skew and stretch each field's range of vision. And the problem of animality can interrogate any field's own material, asking anew what it can say. In a characteristic call to new work, Jonathan Burt urges scholars not to overemphasize the metaphoric and iconic status of textual animals; instead, we should "achieve a more integrated view of the effects of the presence of the animal and the power of its imagery in human history."¹⁰ For scholars of medieval texts, an early turn toward animal studies was Jeffrey

J. Cohen's *Identity Machines*: reading animals as "insubstantial allegories in which we discover ourselves," he argued, "ignores what might occur *between* animals and humans, what processes, desires, identities might circulate in the interspace where animal and human differences come together or come apart."¹¹ Cary Wolfe, like Burt and Cohen, identifies in animal studies a turn from figurative toward living animals: "scholars in animal studies, whatever their home disciplines, now appear to be challenged not only by the discourses and conceptual schemata that have shaped our understanding of and relations to animals but also by the specificity of nonhuman animals, their nongeneric nature . . . linked complexly to the problem of animals' ethical standing as direct or indirect subjects of justice."¹² Beyond ethics as well, animal studies have a persistent preoccupation with searching out traces of animal presence, moving back through figuration toward the living creature. My chapters emphasize the living animal by connecting written representations to perspectives from natural science, animal training, husbandry, and historical studies. Entirely literary approaches can also recover traces of animal presence, not by treating language as if it were a transparent window on the real, but by concentrating on the peculiar obscurities and revelations inherent in turns of phrase, narrative strategies, and formal conventions. I look for moments when textual representation is porous to experience—when the somatic texture of embodied animal encounters leaves an imprint on artful language.

My chapters begin with cohabitation. A raven provides lard for waterproofing the boots of Saint Cuthbert's visitors; a wolf guards cattle so that Saint Fintán can slip away to take reading lessons. Such scenes are often said to show the saint recovering the harmonies of the Garden of Eden, but in the full context of their *vitae*, the saints' encounters make better sense as interactions with a fallen world. When saints speak with wild animals and change their behavior, they are experimenting with their environments. Nature comes into configuration around the saint, interpenetrating with monastic culture and facilitating its projects. Hagiography's fascination with cohabitation in the present moment is even stronger in the ninth-century Irish lyric about a scholar and his cat named White Fuller. Here, as in hagiography, cohabitation is imagined as a kind of reciprocity that enhances not just a household's comfort but the conditions for spiritual fulfillment. In hagiography, reciprocity involves a claim that saints can be understood by all creatures human and nonhuman, while in the Irish lyric, the claim is that the scholar and his cat share a particular kind of mental alertness when they are doing their most challenging work.

Mentality continues as a focus in Chapter 2, which puts Marie's *Fables* and the *Lay of Bisclavret* in dialogue with philosophical writing on the human/animal distinction. In Classical, Christian, and modern philosophy, the human/animal distinction has persistently been located in mentality. So fundamentally flawed is this distinction, Jacques Derrida argued in a lecture foundational for animal studies, that "thinking concerning the animal, if there is such a thing, derives from poetry. There you have a thesis: it is what philosophy has, essentially, had to deprive itself of."¹³ Marie stages the tension between these modes of thought as her *Fables* shift from poetic narrative to what she calls the "philosophie" of the fable's apologue. Marie's *Bisclavret* draws more deeply on poetic resources to reflect on aspects of being that are shared among humans and other animals. She presents becoming a werewolf as a wonder and an adventure, rendering the werewolf's indeterminate nature in positive terms. Her celebration of indeterminacy resonates with Derrida's critique of philosophy's dichotomy between human and animal. Both authors evoke the opening chapters of the Book of Genesis; both authors deploy Genesis to imagine creaturely relations differently from the Augustinian tradition of biblical exegesis.

Creaturely relations in the broadest possible sense are the concern of one of Marie's possible sources for *Bisclavret*, the "second-family" bestiary. The bestiary tackles the question of creaturely relations by turning to taxonomy. For many readers, the bestiary has seemed either an early and flawed attempt at natural science, or a collection of spiritual exempla without serious interest in the natural world. My third chapter proposes that the bestiary classifies animate creatures in order to reveal the material and spiritual unity of creation. Moving beyond the physical bodies of the *animalia*, the bestiary encompasses behavioral, social, moral, and spiritual meanings within its classificatory project. The result is a multidimensional scheme in which fins or feathers can ground distinctions, but so can wildness or tamedness, crafty or innocent behavior, and medicinal or poisonous flesh. Connections can be found in adjacency and metaphor as well as in morphology. A taxonomic impulse to find relationships as well as to differentiate presses the bestiary to situate humans among the other animals, not only as their master but also as their similar. The category confusion latent in the scholastic premise that *homo est animal* enriches the depictions of other animals. Deer, fox, ape, dog, and many more acquire capacities conventionally reserved to humans, such as capacities for sin, virtue, speech, and even rational thought.

In contrast to the religious systematizing of the bestiaries, the medieval hunting treatises of Chapter 4 systematize the aristocratic hunt in order to

model the world cohering around secular lordship. The most praised and prestigious form of hunting, the all-day pursuit of a single hart or boar, deploys an orchestrated company of retainers, hounds, and noble huntsmen. This hunt à force, “with strength of hounds,” is puzzling in its inefficiency. Neither harvesting meat nor taking exercise can account for its elaborate structure. Instead, the hunt à force is a ritual process: it structures contact with the hunted animal and the pack of hounds in order to perform and reinforce the rightness of aristocratic superiority. Animal death, ritualized to evoke the powers of sacrifice, is only a final expression of this superiority. The hunt à force subordinates its animal to its human participants in several ways, but more intriguingly, it makes intimate knowledge of animal bodies and minds the highest expression of aristocratic authority. For example, I argue that many hunting cries recorded in treatises are deliberately contracted utterances designed for communicating with hounds—utterances analogous to the linguistic categories of baby talk and foreigner talk. Aristocratic mastery, this ritual asserts, is most compellingly displayed in practical engagement with animal capacities and behaviors.

Ethical engagement with animals, suppressed in the hunting treatises, is taken up in Geoffrey Chaucer’s *Squire’s Tale*. This tale’s pivotal term “kynde” probes the relationship between kinds (types, species) and kindness (compassion, empathy). What kindnesses are due across differences of kind? A Mongol princess and a peregrine falcon talk together thanks to a magical ring that renders birdsong intelligible to humans. Or do they understand one another, as the falcon suggests, thanks to their shared femininity, nobility, and sensitivity to love? These registers of empathy unite them across the species barrier and set them apart from the tale’s opening scene of masculine diplomacy and chivalry. The opening scene displays a relatively straightforward Orientalism, in which the Eastern kingdom of Cambyuskan is both richly exotic and smoothly appropriated to express the Squire’s effort at international sophistication. In the tale’s second part, the species difference of princess and falcon raises the stakes on ethnic difference, interrogating the limits that ethics might set on hospitality and compassion.

My final chapter stresses the interpenetration of ethical, instrumental, and conceptual relationships by turning to the most thoroughly depicted animal encounter in medieval literature—that of knight and horse. Romances and treatises on chivalry sometimes understand the assemblage of knight, arms, and horse as a powerful mechanism manipulated by the knight, and sometimes instead as a partnership that attributes nobility, loyalty, courage,

and initiative to both horse and rider. Chapter 6 draws first on the limit case of the brass horse in Chaucer's *Squire's Tale* to show that, far from being contradictory or mutually exclusive, the technical model and the inter-subjective model of the mounted knight are necessary complements to one another. The Auchinleck romance *Bevis of Hampton* works out this double valuing of war-horses in the hero's evolving relationship to his horse Arondel. Bevis begins the romance bent on recovering his heritage at all costs, conceiving Arondel as a means to this end, but later he surrenders his heritage in order to save his horse from the gallows. In its remarkably subtle analysis of mounted shock combat, *Bevis of Hampton* attempts to sort out what it is to be a great knight by sorting out how a knight is related to his warhorse as well as his wife, king, and family.

Animal relationships have perhaps been peripheral to medieval scholarship not because they are so simple, but because they are so complex. No single perspective can carry scholarship very far toward exploring them. Early work in the emerging field of animal studies was especially invested in a human/animal boundary, casting relationships in terms of crossing, reinforcing, or blurring the boundary. Helpful as a starting point, this binary conception must now melt into a multiplicity of intersecting and competing distinctions that better reflect medieval ways of thinking. Just as fragments from scientific, imaginative, and religious traditions agglomerate with lived experience in our apprehensions of other animals today, so too in medieval Britain fragments from Classical science, pagan belief, popular tradition, and Christian teaching informed complex and even self-contradictory apprehensions. Alongside the paradigm of the boundary, another persistent way of treating medieval thinking on animality has been to declare it more uniform and simplistic than post-medieval thinking. In Keith Thomas's groundbreaking *Man and the Natural World*, this developmental model is implicit in a scathing first chapter on beliefs about human ascendancy inherited from medieval religious writing; early modern thought, however, "was much more complicated" because those old hierarchical views were "gradually eroded by a combination of developments."¹⁴ The medieval is cast, in a move all too familiar to medievalists, as the time before complexity, the time when a predominant strand of religious thought was thought *tout court*. I stress the plurality and density of medieval thought about animals rather than seeking out a dominant cultural paradigm for each chapter, much less for the book as a whole.

Literary scholarship is well placed to examine the subtle mechanisms of imagination through which medieval encounters shaped and defined animals. Conversely, these encounters shaped and defined medieval hunters, clerics,

and knights; their apprehensions of nonhuman consciousness and embodiment invited them to reconceive themselves. The synchrony of scholar and cat in their house and of knight and warhorse in combat bring the cat and the horse into revelatory roles; they offer scholar and knight an opportunity to explore how bodies, minds, and affects interpenetrate within and across species.

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Chapter 1

Cohabitation

Celtic populations in northern Britain had received Christian conversion by the fifth century, when they began to participate in the conversion of Ireland. During the sixth and seventh centuries, religious traffic across the Irish Sea shifted strongly in the direction of Britain as Irish missionaries came into Scotland and Northumbria. On the island of Iona, 80 miles off the Irish coast and one mile off the Scottish Isle of Mull, Columba (Colum-cille) founded a monastery in 563 that soon became the leading religious foundation of the Irish world. Proselytizing among the Picts and then in the seventh century among the Anglo-Saxons of Northumbria, monks of Iona founded Lindisfarne and Melrose, where Cuthbert was educated beginning in about 651. The influence of Irish tradition persisted in Britain through the later seventh century, alongside the influence of Roman traditions dating from the sixth-century mission sent into England by Pope Gregory the Great.¹

Written down between the seventh and ninth centuries, my earliest set of works reflects the contiguity of Irish and northern British monastic life and thought. These works value ascetic simplicity, prayer and study, ecumenical work, and productive interactions with animals. This latter aspect of Irish monasticism is pointed out by scholars but is seldom a subject of analysis.² Animal relationships in monastic writing are not as favored in scholarship as monastic relationships with secular rulers, the Roman church, and the works of the early church fathers. The Irish and northern British monasteries, however, were deeply enmeshed in nature, reflecting their founders' ambitions to seek out deserted places and to create new settlements where none had been before. The typical monastic foundation of the earlier centuries was little more than a collection of wattled huts for monastic solitude near a larger structure for communal meals and an oratory or church.³ Wild nature challenged monastic settlements and domesticated nature facilitated their work. An Old

Irish lyric about a monastic scholar and his cat and a handful of early Irish saints' lives will demonstrate how rich medieval thought about animals could be in these ascetic foundations.

The Irish lyric "Pangur Bán" meditates on the symbiosis of a scholar's efforts and a housecat's hunting, to discover within their analogous work a precisely observed equivalence between their minds. In the second half of this chapter, the scene of cohabitation moves from the small space of a scholar's monastic hut to the seas, pasturelands, and wilderness of seventh and eighth-century hagiography. Poised at the leading edge of humanity, saints of the Irish tradition establish their sanctity by entering into relationships with wild and domestic animals, shaping all creation into a more hospitable place for Christian settlements.

Living with animals in the Middle Ages, so intensive and pervasive in contrast to our century's curtailed living contacts, could not yet be conceived in terms of "domestication," that is, a long process of genetic adaptations toward cross-species tolerance and exploitation. Instead, medieval sources often imagine cohabitation with animals as a heuristic arrangement in the here and now of a particular creature and a particular human. Yet the etymological root of "domestication," in medieval Latin *domesticare*, "to dwell in a house" and by metaphoric extension "to accustom, to become familiar with," connects the contemporary term back to the medieval view that a particular relationship of two beings could exemplify how entire species have come into interdependence with humans.⁴ Indeed, the Irish texts of this chapter treat the immediate present of a cross-species encounter as paradigmatic for cross-species relationships more generally, contributing a certain universality and explanatory force to the scenes of contact.

Pangur Bán

The Old Irish lyric called "Pangur Bán" ("White Fuller"), "The Scholar and His Cat," or "The Monk and His Cat" has been widely translated, printed, and appreciated over the last century. The lyric survives in a single ninth-century manuscript that was probably produced in Ireland; the lyric's composition may be contemporaneous with its manuscript or somewhat earlier.⁵ The manuscript's association with the eighth-century abbey at Reichenau in southern Germany testifies to the peregrinations of Irish monks across Britain and Europe. "Pangur Bán" appears in this manuscript, not marginally as is

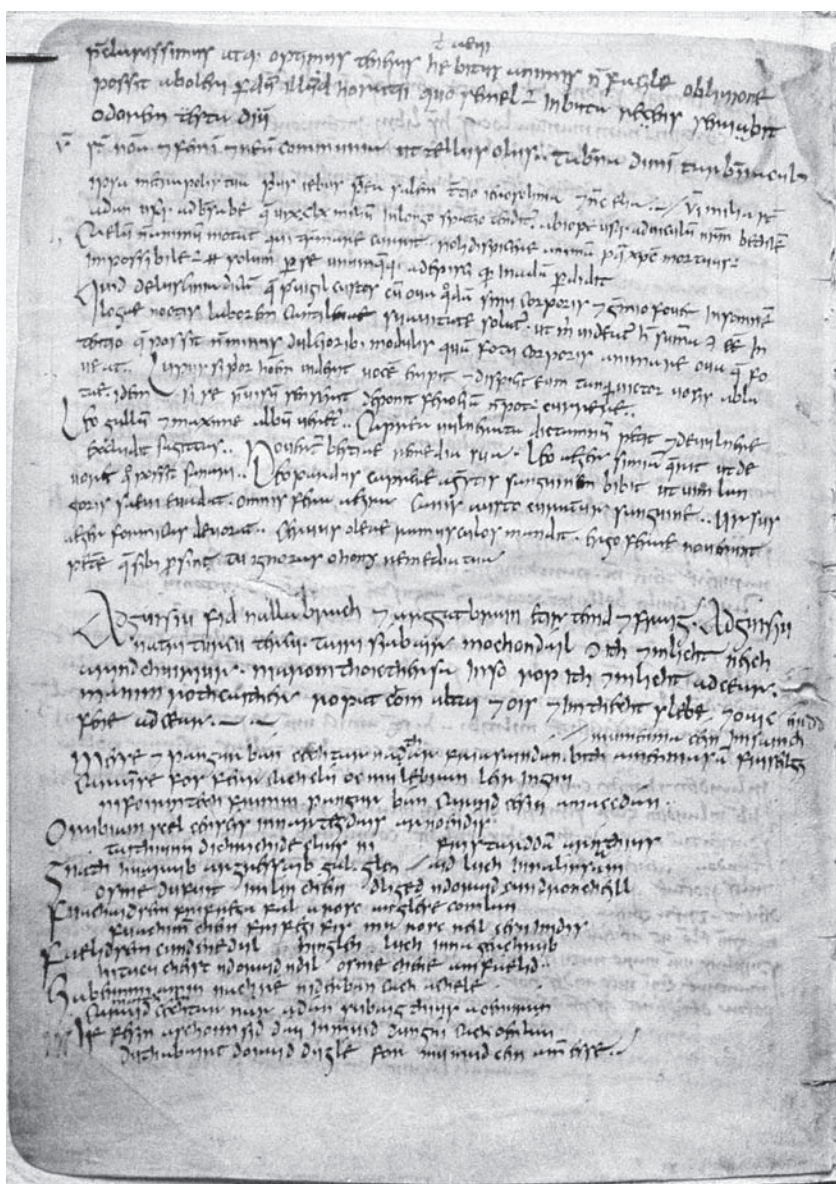


Figure 1. "Pangur Bán" in the Reichenau Primer. Carinthia, Austria, Archiv St. Paul 86 b/1, folios 14v–2r. By permission of Stift St. Paul. Digital image by Dr. Konrad J. Tristram.

sometimes said, but across the bottom third of folio 1 verso. Seamus Heaney offers the finest poetic rendering of “Pangur Bán”:

Pangur Bán and I at work,
Adepts, equals, cat and clerk:
His whole instinct is to hunt,
Mine to free the meaning pent.

More than loud acclaim, I love
Books, silence, thought, my alcove.
Happy for me, Pangur Bán
Child-plays round some mouse's den.

Truth to tell, just being here,
Housed alone, housed together,
Adds up to its own reward:
Concentration, stealthy art.

Next thing an unwary mouse
Bares his flank: Pangur pounces.
Next thing lines that held and held
Meaning back begin to yield.

All the while, his round bright eye
Fixes on the wall, while I
Focus my less piercing gaze
On the challenge of the page.

With his unsheathed, perfect nails
Pangur springs, exults and kills.
When the longed-for, difficult
Answers come, I too exult.

So it goes. To each his own.
No vying. No vexation.
Taking pleasure, taking pains
Kindred spirits, veterans.

Day and night, soft purr, soft pad,
 Pangur Bán has learned his trade.
 Day and night, my own hard work
 Solves the cruxes, makes a mark.⁶

This beautiful poetic translation has certain marks of modernity that appear when we set it next to a rigorously literal translation from Whitley Stokes and John Strachan's anthology of Old Irish poetry:

I and Pangur Bán, each of us two at his special art:
 his mind is at hunting (mice), my own mind is in my special craft.

I love to rest—better than any fame—at my booklet with diligent
 science:
 Not envious of me is Pangur Bán: he himself loves his childish art.

When we are—tale without tedium—in our house, we two alone,
 we have—unlimited (is) feat-sport—something to which to apply our
 acuteness.

It is customary at times by feats of valour, that a mouse sticks in his net,
 and for me there falls into my net a difficult dictum with hard meaning.

His eye, this glancing full one, he points against the wall-fence:
 I myself against the keenness of science point my clear eye, though it is
 very feeble.

He is joyous with speedy going where a mouse sticks in his sharp claw:
 I too am joyous, where I understand a difficult dear question.

Though we are thus always, neither hinders the other:
 each of us two likes his art, amuses himself alone.

He himself is master of the work which he does every day:
 while I am at my own work, (which is) to bring difficulty to clearness.⁷

Juxtaposing Heaney's lyric translation with a close paraphrase reveals two revisionary tendencies shared by many recent translators and readers: the

ninth-century lyric's vivid depiction of similarity between scholar and cat morphs toward parity and acquires an emotional charge. Heaney's scholar and cat are "equals," "kindred spirits." Pangur purrs softly; he is "happy for" the scholar. None of these renderings is accurate to the Irish text, but all seem plausible translations in the context of our era's pet-keeping. "Equals" and "kindred spirits" are interpretive extensions of the lyric's parallel phrasing: in Stokes and Strachan, "his mind . . . my own mind," "I love . . . he himself loves." Heaney's "soft purr, soft pad" is an outright addition, and his "happy for me" alters the original's "not envious of me," a fascinating expression that altogether reserves judgment on the cat's orientation to the scholar: does the cat's absence of envy express tolerance or simply obliviousness—relationship or nonrelationship? Heaney's shifts toward fellowship and sentiment are in fine company: W. H. Auden similarly nudges the Irish text to read "how happy we are / Alone together."⁸ From the scholarly corner, Jeffrey Jerome Cohen invokes "Pangur Bán" to argue that, like contemporary pet owners, "medieval people loved these same animals with an ardor equal to that which today has encouraged the development of gourmet dog biscuits and Tiffany cat collars."⁹

Love does suffuse this lyric with glowing joy, but scholar and cat are depicted loving their separate endeavors, not loving each other. The scholar's relation to the cat is more meditative than affective: Pangur exemplifies for the scholar a deep commitment to "his special art," "the work which he does every day." Yet the scholar also values a carefully delineated connection between Pangur and himself. This connection comes into view when we set aside the contemporary assumption that sharing affection is the best of all relationships with other creatures.¹⁰ The Irish lyric depicts instead a relationship nearer the medieval ideal of cohabitation, in which each animal in domestic space has a specialized task to perform. Only within the sharply observed specifics of their separate tasks does the scholar assert a small, precisely observed equivalence between them: both are capable of focusing so intently at their work as to produce a kind of elation, a "joyous" state of concentration that they share.

"Unlimited is feat-sport"

To be sure, the "childish art" of hunting mice stands in contrast to the textual labor of the scholar, expressing the fundamental difference between irrational and rational creatures that medieval exegetical tradition grounded in the text of Genesis. As "Adam called all the beasts by their names and all the fowls of the air and all the cattle of the field" (Genesis 2:20), patristic commentary finds a foundational distinction between the rational, speaking first man and

all other living creatures. This exegetical tradition, a topic of Chapter 3 on the bestiaries, is no doubt latent in “Pangur Bán.” The difference between catching mice and solving textual cruxes makes “our house” a microcosm of creation’s rightful hierarchy.

Anthropomorphic tactics for depicting the cat, however, put certain pressures on the lyric’s hierarchical differentiation between scholar and cat. The cat’s name, “Pangur Bán,” means “white fuller,” a man who works with fuller’s earth and comes to be covered in its pale dust.¹¹ Given the high value of work and craft in the lyric, one might hazard that “white fuller” evokes both the cat’s pale fur and his workmanlike behavior. The cat is next anthropomorphized as a net-wielding gladiator or perhaps a huntsman equipped with a net (his extended claws) as he performs “feats of valor.”¹² Cat as workman and cat as valiant gladiator have mock-heroic potential that could reflect doubly on the cat, humorously inflating his worth in order to discredit it and distance him from the scholar. In a counterstrategy, however, the scholar shares mock-heroic status with the cat as “there falls into *my* net a difficult dictum with hard meaning.” Both of them are attempting “feats of valor” that could look small from the net-wielding, death-defying gladiator’s perspective. Anthropomorphism can cut in many directions, but in “Pangur Bán” the consistent strategy is to strike analogies that reinforce the scholar’s bemused admiration for Pangur with his self-deprecating account of his own efforts to work well. The bodily organ through which both of them work is the eye, crucial for each task. The scholar’s “very weak” eye may suffer from presbyopia but is surely metaphoric for his intellectual struggles. Here again the scholar’s self-deprecation sets Pangur’s workmanship ahead of his own.

The scholar’s characterization of Pangur’s “special art” interprets a peculiar trait of domestic cats: they do not kill only when they are hungry, in order to eat. Probably as a result of artificial selection for good mousers over centuries of cohabitation with humans, domestic cats (*Felis catus*) may kill many times a day without eating their prey, as if they were hunting just for the sake of hunting.¹³ Crooks and Soule call them “recreational hunters.”¹⁴ In the moment of Pangur’s and the scholar’s cohabitation, it appears that a white cat who hunts all day in disconnection from hunger “amuses himself” and “likes his art” in analogy to the scholar’s long hours of fascination with textual analysis. Both of them are specialists.

Medieval sources call the domestic cat *catus* less often than *musio*, *muri-legus*, *sorilegus*, and *muriceps* (mouse catcher, rodent catcher), indicating the quality for which cats were most valued. During the Roman Empire cats were

taken northward from the Mediterranean; some of the tiles excavated at the Roman town of Silchester in Britain bear the footprints of cats.¹⁵ The Welsh legal code of Hwyl Dda specifies the worth of a cat as follows: “The price of a cat is four pence. Her qualities are to see, to hear, to kill mice, to have her claws whole, to nurse and not devour her kittens. If she be deficient in any one of these qualities, one third of her price must be returned.”¹⁶ The noun “Pangur” is not Irish but Welsh, so that Pangur’s presence in an Irish lyric, perhaps also in an Irish monastic house, suggests the best mousers may have been worth taking from place to place and even buying and selling. But a monk need not purchase cats; their upkeep amounts to nothing and they reproduce freely even in a feral state. Thus they were characteristic denizens of the poorest households, including those of monks and hermits, where manuscripts as well as food supplies needed protection from rodents.¹⁷

As one of so few possessions, the scholar’s cat poses a risk to spirituality: one might be tempted to take frivolous pleasure in a cat. John the Deacon’s ninth-century *Life of St. Gregory* tells of a hermit who possessed “nothing in the world except for a cat.” He was so fond of her that “he caressed her often and warmed her in his bosom as his housemate.”¹⁸ His virtuous asceticism brought him a dream foretelling that in heaven he would be placed next to Pope Gregory. The hermit questioned whether this place was a just reward for his ascetic life, so different from the Pope’s life of luxury. God replies to him in a second dream that he is more wealthy with the cat he cherishes so deeply than was Gregory with all his riches, which he did not love but rather deplored. The anecdote celebrates Gregory’s transcendence of worldly ties but also the hermit’s effort at transcendence, as he wakes and prays for strength to live more ascetically and deserve his place in heaven.

The scholar of “Pangur Bán,” as if taking to heart the rigorous lesson of John the Deacon’s anecdote, controls the risk of worldly pleasure by finding exemplarity in Pangur and restricting their pleasure to their work: “each of us two likes his art, amuses himself alone.” Yet relationship is not banished from “our house”; the scholar is warmly respectful of this creature who is “master of the work which he does every day.” The lyric’s parallel constructions begin by moving from “I” to “he” (stanzas 1a, 2) but soon shift to move from “he” to “I” (stanzas 1b, 4, 5, 6, 8), to emphasize that the scholar is taking inspiration from Pangur’s persistence in hunting. And the scholar finds more to their similarity than their commitment to their separate arts. They also share a hunter’s mind.

To be sure, once again, the philosophical and exegetical traditions infusing this lyric’s context would not sustain a claim that cat’s mind and scholar’s

mind are entirely alike. The very foundation of the lyric's "house" is that the scholar's intellectual work, the *ratio* unique to humankind, contrasts with and complements the cat's work of killing mice. But *ratio* does not encompass all mental activity. Early medieval theology and natural science in the Aristotelian tradition had no hesitation in according mental activity to animate creatures other than humankind.¹⁹ What is unusual in "Pangur Bán" is its identification of a certain mental acuteness that a cat can share with a scholar. The lyric's opening comparison between "his mind" and "my own mind" ("menmasam . . . mu menma") introduces the intriguing possibility that hunting and scholarship can both involve a kind of mindfulness that goes beyond *ratio*.

José Ortega y Gasset insists in his *Meditations on Hunting* that in human hunting, reason is a hindrance. "Reason's most important intervention consists precisely in restraining itself, in its limiting its own intervention." In order truly to excel at hunting, Ortega y Gasset continues, we must

accept the most obvious thing in the world—namely, that hunting is not an exclusively human occupation, but occurs throughout almost the entire zoological scale. Only a definition of hunting that is based on the complete extension of this immense fact, and covering equally the beast's predatory zeal and any good hunter's almost mystical agitation, will get to the root of this surprising phenomenon.²⁰

I want to linger over Ortega y Gasset's "almost mystical agitation," his expression for the peculiar alertness that replaces reason and calculation in hunting. Other hunters have attempted to describe this remarkable state of nonrational attentiveness. Nancy Mitford's clever, literate narrator in *The Pursuit of Love* is so absorbed in a hunt that "I forgot everything, I could hardly have told you my name. That must be the great hold that hunting has over people, especially stupid people; it enforces an absolute concentration, both mental and physical."²¹ Michael Pollan writes of his first hunt, "my attention to everything around me, and deafness to everything else, is complete. Nothing in my experience (with the possible exception of certain intoxicants) has prepared me for the quality of this attention."²² These attempts to characterize hunting's peculiar alertness concur in contrasting it to rational thought. In the ninth century and even the nineteenth, the focused concentration of hunting would have been a broadly familiar experience. It is some kind of comment on Pollan's audience that the experience of "certain intoxicants" is a more broadly shared frame of reference than the "almost mystical agitation" of hunting itself.

Given how rarely in medieval texts the behavior of an animal is closely described, it is remarkable that the poet of “Pangur Bán” took care to represent a cat’s intense alertness in hunting. More remarkably still, the lyric’s scholar takes that alertness to be exemplary on its own terms, rather than simply as a rhetorical figure for something else. In the lyric’s third stanza, Stokes and Strachan’s “feat-sport” translates *aithes*, whose meanings encompass “ingenuity, sharpness, keenness” as well as “exploit, victory, successful feat.”²³ *Aithes* introduces the idea of an accomplishment that is alert and skillful but not rational. The connection between “my mind” and “his mind” is tightest in stanzas 4 and 6, when Pangur’s pounce is juxtaposed to the scholar’s apprehension of “a difficult dictum” and “a dearly loved question.” Perhaps, in a dull and conventional simile, the scholar seizes a crux just as eagerly as Pangur seizes a mouse. But I believe that the lyric’s claim is far more fascinating: that the scholar seizes the crux *when his mind works as the cat’s mind works*. Seizing a crux can depend on nonrational states of attentiveness that intellectual workers call inspiration, revelation, bursts of insight. Physicist Richard Feynman recounts inspiration as standing back from thought:

I worked out the theory of helium once and suddenly saw everything. I had been struggling and struggling for two years. . . . At that particular time I simply looked up and I said, “Wait a minute, it can’t be quite that difficult. It must be very easy. I’ll stand back, and I’ll just treat it very lightly. I’ll just *tap* it, boomp-boomp.” And there it was! So how many times since then am I walking on the beach and I say, “now look, it can’t be so complicated.” And I’ll tap-tap—and nothing happens. The delights are great, but the secret way—what the conditions are. . . . By the way, it’s the delight that is absolute ecstasy. You just go absolutely wild.²⁴

Here is the joy of hunting, as well as its intense focus: “He is joyous with speedy going where a mouse sticks in his sharp claw: I too am joyous, where I understand a difficult dear question.” In this one respect Pangur’s and the scholar’s work are not just analogous but equivalent. And so at this point an apology to Seamus Heaney is in order. Heaney’s first stanza rendering the cat and the scholar “equals” does accurately translate the lyric’s narrow parity between the mental orientation of hunting and of solving cruxes. Reinforcing that limited parity, Heaney continues, “His whole *instinct* is to hunt, / Mine to free the meaning pent,” substituting a term closely identified with other species for the lyric’s “his mind . . . my own mind,” in order to express the

nonrational focus needed for both hunting and resolving textual cruxes. The “feat-sports” of scholar and cat share a specific kind of mental alertness.

“In our house, we two alone”

In addition to sharing a certain kind of mental work, Pangur and the scholar also share a working space, “our house.” Within the bounds of the lyric, this working space is entirely constituted by “we two alone,” some mice, and a book. The lyric’s depiction of “our house” recalls the “domus” in “domestication,” the modern term for the process of genetic change by which certain species have come to live with humans. The deep perspective of genetic change is of course completely unavailable to a ninth-century Irish poet, yet “Pangur Bán” offers a weirdly compelling illustration of recent scholarship concerning what domestication is and how it works. A few flagrantly atemporal paragraphs will bring to light two modern misapprehensions about domestication that can distort our appreciation for medieval accounts of cross-species cohabitation. In my temporally collapsed reading, two details from the Irish lyric, the symbiosis of scholar and cat and the cat’s white fur, evoke a history of domestication reaching back millennia before the ninth century.

Patrolling the wall-fence and catching mice, Pangur creates good conditions for scholarly work. The lyric’s perception is consistently that cat and scholar work in tandem—as expressed through the stanzas’ rhetorical organization in parallel phrases, the equivalent terminology for the mind, joy, work, and art of both creatures, and the metaphoric equations of cat and scholar to net-fighters and craftsmen. Cat and scholar “in our house” enjoy a mutually sustaining relationship. Here “Pangur Bán” adumbrates recent scholarship that resists seeing domestication as a one-way process in which humans have chosen to manage other creatures, compelling them to behave in useful ways. In that older view, which has medieval as well as post-medieval proponents, animals change (whether individually or as whole species) when humans make them change.²⁵ Revisionist views of domestication, sometimes termed “co-domestication” and “self domestication,” represent differently how other species came to reside with humans. These models propose that much of the genetic change in domestication is not willed by humans but takes place without their intervention as other species exploit human environments.²⁶

The domesticated cat well exemplifies this revisionist interpretation that domestication is “a symbiosis that needs at least two partners, and it is simplistic to view it from the side of one of the partners alone.”²⁷ As agriculture replaced hunter-gathering, wild cats that could tolerate proximity to human

settlements moved in to hunt the rodent populations attracted by stored grain. The concentration of rodents was advantageous to the cats, and their rodent killing was advantageous to the settlements. This first stage of feline domestication reaches back about 9000 years.²⁸ Through generations of natural selection for tolerance of proximity to humans, cats became “neotenuous”: traits that had been juvenile in their species came to be preserved into adulthood. Compared to their wild forebears, domesticated cats are more calm, sociable, and tolerant of humans, not because they are individually tamed in each case but because their genetic code has shifted to make them more kittenlike, and thus more capable of living near humans. All domestic mammals are neotenuous to some degree: throughout their lives, they retain juvenile tendencies to solicit care, to tolerate contact with other species, and to be capable of learning new behaviors well into their adult lives.²⁹ Natural selection, evolutionary changes brought about by environmental conditions rather than human intentions, produced a cat that could exploit human environments by producing a permanently juvenile cat.

In this long view of genetic modification, the domesticated cat shares “our house” with another neotenuous creature: the scholar. Open to living with another species, capable of learning from his manuscripts throughout his life, the scholar exemplifies how deeply neotenized is *Homo sapiens*.³⁰ Like the neotenization of cats, the neotenization of humans, many millenia in the past, involved no deliberate human manipulation; neoteny produced its own favoring as it produced humans more and more adapted to cooperative living in tight quarters. Our own neoteny is always credited with creating the conditions for culture-building specifically among humans, but neoteny also makes a second stage of domestication possible—the stage in which various species adapted to living near humans become of interest to humans. Neoteny on both sides—curiosity, flexibility, and comfort across species lines—sustains this second stage of domestication. Humans draw other species deeply into culture, making innovative use of them as supports for cultural advancement. The scholar of “Pangur Bán” lives in the second stage of domestication when the neotenuous cat, “merely a ‘rough first draft,’” comes to be “‘edited’ and modified thereafter by human selection for individual traits” such as superior rodent killing.³¹ Pangur, a second-stage “edited” feline, hunts all day regardless of his need for food, creating good conditions for scholarly work. Deliberate human selection, called artificial selection, produces over time its own evolutionary changes by favoring certain traits over others.

Pangur’s whiteness is poised between the two stages of domestication,

the rough draft and the edited copy, potentially illustrating each of them. Given the light color of fuller's earth, the name "White Fuller" insists almost redundantly on Pangur's color.³² Deliberate "editing" of feline litters for color as an aesthetic value could have favored this striking mutation of wild felines' camouflaging tabby coats. In an offhand reference to such favoring, Eadmer of Canterbury illustrates the overlap of two distinct pleasures, touch and sight, with the example of stroking a white cat.³³ The doubled reference to a pale coat in Pangur Bán's name suggests that his color was valued in itself, although no such suggestion is worked out in the scholar's austere appreciation of his merits.

Alternatively to evoking artificial selection of litters for favored colors, Pangur's white coat could evoke for us the deepest past of feline neotenization, as a secondary trait accompanying evolutionary pressure toward tolerance of humans. Probably because it has some genetic link to calmness, depigmentation is broadly characteristic of domestic mammals—white polled cattle, piebald horses, white-faced dogs. A breeding experiment carried out on silver foxes at a Siberian fur farm, in which foxes of each generation were selected and bred strictly on the criterion of which were less fearful of humans, produced foxes within about thirty generations that actively solicited human contact, whining and wagging their tails to win their caregivers' attentions—but produced as well some unanticipated changes including depigmentation in the coats of less fearful foxes: white marks and light coats not found in the wild stock.³⁴ Thus Pangur's white coat can evoke the long history of co-domestication's intended and unintended genetic modifications. Pangur Bán's pleonastic name suggests that whiteness may have been a trait favored in cats through artificial selection. On the other hand, the scholar's rigorous focus on Pangur's work and skill treats his whiteness as a secondary characteristic, irrelevant to his true value as a good mouser.

In presenting "our house" as a coordinated space of joyous fulfillment, "Pangur Bán" offers a more substantial and positive view of cohabitating with cats than do most medieval texts.³⁵ The scholar's self-deprecating humility as he observes Pangur's hunting, together with his depiction of their tasks' symbiosis, well illustrate Coppinger's and Smith's recommendation that "we should swallow our pride and accept our own inextricable interdependency with other domesticants. The culture we pride ourselves on was, and remains, dependent on the success of domestication."³⁶ "Pangur Bán" acknowledges this success in depicting a spectrum of concentration shared between scholar and cat. Together they make "our house" a coherent space of cultural production.

Saints and Animals

Irish and Northumbrian saints' lives expand the space of cultural production from a single monastic cell to the outdoor spaces of ecumenical pilgrimage. Wild and domestic animals figure prominently in the consolidation of Christian culture as the Irish and Irish-trained saints of seventh- and eighth-century hagiography move out of their cells and into relation with diverse communities—monastic and secular, Christian and pagan—and into the fields, forests, and seas of Ireland, Scotland, and Northumbria. The dual commitment of these saints to spreading Christianity and retreating into seclusion are importantly allied. These early *vitae* in the Irish tradition draw on the lives of desert saints of Mediterranean antiquity, but the northern works do not adopt the antique dichotomy between sinful society and purgatorial desert. Instead, evangelization and lonely self-purification are conjoined values for these saints.³⁷ Weaving settlements and deserted places together as they move among them, they construct a single environment drawn into harmony through holiness. When St. Cainnech withdraws from his brotherhood to a solitary place, a stag stands quietly with the saint's book propped in his antlers; startled into flight one day, the stag soon returns to the saint with the book still in place. Young St. Fintán slips off to his reading lessons by recruiting two wolves to guard his father's herd; the wolves' transformation convinces his father to let Fintán continue his religious studies.³⁸ In these and many further animal encounters, the world of Christian study and spiritual care intertwines with a more than human world.

Literary and cultural scholars have long turned to hagiography for "reliable contemporary evidence about the aspirations and culture of a people," as Kathleen Hughes writes, but the same scholars tend to dismiss the saints' animal miracles as "folk-lore fantasy" or "the common subject matter of hagiology"—transhistorical boilerplate unworthy of scholarly attention.³⁹ Separating Cainnech's miraculous stag so neatly from the rest of his *vita* obscures the culturally specific meanings of his animal miracles. Cainnech's other miracles are not beyond the scholarly pale: T. M. Charles-Edwards finds substantial information about social organization and church rivalry in Cainnech's multiply miraculous rescue of a king from a burning fort.⁴⁰ In order to bring the saints' miraculous contacts with animals into better view, they should be considered alongside other miracles and in the context of the lives' governing concerns: authenticating each saint's life and foundations, expressing values

peculiar to the hagiographers' time and place, and conforming the saint to an ideal of holy life based in Biblical precedents.⁴¹ These governing concerns reach beyond the human to engage the whole of creation. For the hagiographers, sanctity is a particular relationship to God but also a particular path through mortal life.

My central text is the *Life of Saint Cuthbert* written by a member of his community in about 700, soon after Cuthbert's death.⁴² I draw some analogies from the similarly substantial *Life of Columba* (Colum-cille), also written around 700 by a member of the saint's community,⁴³ and from shorter *vitae* in the Codex Salmanticensis cluster that Richard Sharpe has shown to preserve eighth-century lives of the seventh-century saints Cainnech, Fintán, Luguid, and Fínán Cam.⁴⁴ This set of texts in an Irish tradition is more accurately "insular" or "northern" than Ireland's alone. Linking the Irish lives to Cuthbert's Anglo-Saxon life recognizes the persistence and strength of Irish tradition in British foundations.⁴⁵ These lives also cohere in their conception of the relationships saints strike with animals as the frontiers of the Irish foundations move from Ireland across the sea to Britain.

When scholars discuss animal encounters in hagiography, they typically declare the encounters' relevance to be exclusively human. In the earliest scholarly comment on my texts, Bede's rewriting (c. 721) of the anonymous *Life of Saint Cuthbert*, this apologetic insertion constrains the meaning of Cuthbert's correction of thieving ravens: "Let it not seem absurd to anyone to learn a lesson of virtue from birds, since Solomon says: 'Go to the ant, thou slugard, consider her ways and be wise.'" ⁴⁶ Similarly, on the grief of Columba's workhorse as death approaches the saint, Dominic Alexander concludes that the episode illustrates "the bonds of love and perfect harmony of the productive family within the saint's realm, in no doubt stark contrast to normal secular households. It is not *nature* that is being depicted here, it is *society*."⁴⁷ For many readers of hagiography, animals are ciphers or signs for human followers and teaching; they are insignificant as creatures. This semiotic approach diminishes the range and mystery of the saint's influence throughout creation. Animal encounters can participate more fully in the saint's definition when we take them to be wondrous in their supplementarity to encounters with both angels and humankind. Hagiography's instruction ranges beyond lessons on human conduct to instruct as well concerning how creation is ordered and how it might be revised through faith.

Ministering to Guests

The “service and ministry” Cuthbert receives from two sea animals exemplifies how involved sanctity and animality can become.⁴⁸ The Anonymous devotes a chapter to this incident “which I learned from the account of many good men, among whom is Plecgils a priest.”⁴⁹ On each night of his visit to the monastery of Coldingham, Cuthbert walks to the seashore below the monastery. A cleric of Coldingham follows Cuthbert one night to test him (“eum temptando”) and witnesses the sea animals’ behavior:

Ille vero homo Dei Cuthberht, inobstinata mente adpropinquans ad mare usque ad lumbare in mediis fluctibus, isam enim aliquando usque ad ascellas tumultuante et fluctuante tinctus est. Dum autem de mare ascendens, et in arenosis locis litoris flectens genua orabat, venerunt statim post vestigia eius duo pusilla animalia maritima humiliter proni in terram, lambentes pedes eius, volutantes tergebant pellibus suis, et calefacientes odoribus suis. Post servitium autem et ministerio impleto accepta ab eo benedictione, ad cognatas undas maris recesserunt.

That man of God, approaching the sea with mind made resolute, went into the waves up to his loin-cloth; at once he was soaked as far as his armpits by the tumultuous and stormy sea. Then coming up out of the sea, he prayed, bending his knees on the sandy part of the shore, and immediately there followed in his footsteps two little sea animals, humbly prostrating themselves on the earth; and, licking his feet, they rolled upon them, wiping them with their skins and warming them with their breath. After this service and ministry had been fulfilled and his blessing had been received, they departed to their haunt in the waves of the sea.⁵⁰

The spying cleric confesses his weak trust in Cuthbert’s motives for nocturnal wandering. Cuthbert replies, “you shall receive pardon on one condition; that you vow never to tell the story so long as I am alive” (“hoc tibi confitenti uno modo indulgetur, si votum voveris, numquam te esse quamdiu vixero narraturum”).⁵¹

One kind of work this episode accomplishes is validating Cuthbert’s sanctity by aligning it with Biblical and early Christian precedents. Animals minister to the saint, writes the anonymous hagiographer, “just as we read in the Old Testament that the lions ministered to Daniel.” (“sicut leones in veteri

legimus Danihelo servire").⁵² Like the desert saints of antiquity as well as other monks in the Irish tradition, Cuthbert practices ascetic immersion in cold water.⁵³ His command that the spying cleric keep the encounter unknown imitates the desert saints' withdrawal from social relations in search of anonymity and rigorous asceticism, and the cleric's witnessing fills the function of visitors to the desert ascetics: paradoxically, in their *vitae* their withdrawal to deserted places attracts the admiration and commemoration of visitors.

Even as the Anonymous draws on authoritative precedents, he modifies them in directions characteristic of early Irish hagiography: wilderness and settlement are less troubled and less dichotomous places than they were for the desert saints of antiquity. Antony of Egypt retreated from the sinful comforts of civilization to a horrific desert infested with demonic forces in animal forms which injure him terribly. The best that reptiles, crocodiles, and other animals of the desert can do for Antony is to stay away from him "as if they were afraid" and "as if they had been chased."⁵⁴ In Jerome's life of Paul of Thebes, a raven sent by God brings bread to Paul and two lions bury his dead body, but the desert remains harshly penitential and importantly in contrast with the sinful comforts of civilization.⁵⁵ The deserts and settlements of early Irish hagiography are more contiguous; both can offer appropriate settings for ascetic practice and saintly heroics. Columba's founding of Iona and his administrative work there are at least as worthy as his follower Baitan's effort "to seek a desert in the ocean . . . [on] long circuitous voyaging through windy seas."⁵⁶ Columba arriving on Iona and Cuthbert arriving on Farne both find their islands haunted, but their *vitae* spend only a line or two on the demons' expulsion.⁵⁷ Then the saints move on to relate to their islands' animal denizens, often in modes of mutual accommodation. Cuthbert's immersion in the sea below Coldingham monastery well illustrates the revised desert of the North: its waves test Cuthbert's asceticism even as its wild creatures welcome him and care for him.

Their care invokes ritual gestures of hospitality. "At the core of a code of honorable behavior," according to Lisa Bitel, hospitality in this period was also a legal obligation, widely understood as the practice that held society together as well as expressing its hierarchies.⁵⁸ The anonymous *Life of Saint Cuthbert* places the chapter "How the sea animals served him" just after an intriguingly similar chapter on "How he ministered to an angel."⁵⁹ In this preceding chapter Cuthbert, "elected by the community [of the monastery at Ripon] to minister to guests on their arrival," receives one winter morning an angel guest. "Thinking him to be a man and not an angel, he washed his hands and feet and

wiped them with towels, and . . . in his humility rubbed his guest's feet with his own hands to warm them on account of the cold" ("Ministrare namque hospitibus advenientibus . . . electus est. . . Putans adhuc hominem esse, et non angelum, lavatis manibus et pedibus lintheaminibusque tergens et manibus suis humiliter propter frigorem fricans et calefaciens pedes eius").⁶⁰ The two sea animals of the following chapter perform an analogous ritual as Cuthbert leaves the cold waters of the sea for the comparative comfort of land. In both chapters the warming and drying of feet are of course based on the foot-washing of Biblical hospitality, adapted for the colder, damper climate of Ireland and Britain.

Ministering to an angel and receiving similar ministrations from sea creatures poise Cuthbert in a hierarchy that urges not just his special holiness but a coherence in all creation as it unfolds from angel through saint to sea animal. Cuthbert is a guest at the monastery of Coldingham and at the seashore of Coldingham as well, where the sea animals perform a "service and ministry" akin to Cuthbert's ministrations to the angel guest at his own monastery.⁶¹ Hospitality is the authoritative language chosen to express the saint's unifications, illustrating but also enlarging Bitel's observation that for the early Irish Christians, "the practice of hospitality provided both the context and the vocabulary for contact among the religious elite. . . . The hagiographers expressed all kinds of relations between the saints and their communities with the vocabulary of hospitality."⁶² The *Life of Saint Cuthbert* vividly extends the paradigm of hospitality in human communities to encompass also human relations to angels and sea creatures.

In another instance when hospitality stretches across creation, Cuthbert cannot find a sheltering host for himself and his horse on a stormy winter journey. Reaching a group of summer dwellings near Chester-le-Street, Cuthbert leads his horse into a vacant dwelling to wait out the storm.

Oransque sibi ad Dominum, vidit equum caput sursum elevantem ad tecta domunculi partemque foeni tectorum avidè adprehendens traxit ad se. Et cum quo statim panis calidus et caro involutus in panne linea diligenter deorsum cadens emissus est. Ille vero consummata oratione probavit, animadvertitque sibi esse cibum a Deo predestinatum per emissionem angeli, qui sepe in angustiis suis adiuvavit eum, gratias agens Deo, benedixit et manducavit.

As he was praying to the Lord, he saw his horse raise its head up to the roof of the hut and, greedily seizing part of the thatch of the roof,

draw it towards him. And immediately there fell out, along with it, a warm loaf and meat carefully wrapped up in a linen cloth. When he had finished his prayer, he felt it and found that it was food provided beforehand for him by God through the sending forth of his angel who often helped him in his difficulties. And he thanked God, blessed it and ate it.⁶³

The helpful angel does not appear himself, as he did earlier to tell Cuthbert how to cure his infected knee. Instead, the angel's hospitality works through the material world. The dwelling offers horse and rider alluring shelter; once inside, the dwelling provides thatch for the horse to eat; and finally the horse's eating delivers Cuthbert's dinner: a delivery setup that might have been imagined by Rube Goldberg. A twelfth-century manuscript of Bede's prose *Life of Saint Cuthbert* attempts to represent the unfolding sequence of events (Figure 2).⁶⁴ Striving, in Otto Pächt's phrase, "to smuggle the time factor into a medium which by definition lacks the dimension of time," the illuminator attempts some spatial and visual signals for temporal consequence.⁶⁵ Cuthbert's dinner emerges on a cascade of linen cloth from behind, as if consequent on, the horse's eager bite of red thatch. On or within the cascading cloth, the dinner's outline, empty of color, suggests a not yet manifested consequence of the prior consequence of the horse's eager bite. Dwelling, thatch, horse, and angel are wonderfully conjoined in care for the saint, all the more wonderfully given the absence of hospitality that confronted Cuthbert and his horse as they arrived in this fair-weather town. Hospitality, a community-making practice, draws travelers and pilgrims into monastic and secular settlements. In the saint's encounters with animals and angels, hospitality further coheres humanity with all creation.

Adomnán's *Life of Columba* illustrates the capacious reach of saintly relationships most vividly when the monastery of Iona hosts a crane. Columba foresees the crane's visit, instructing one of his monks that "a guest will arrive from the northern region of Ireland, very tired and weary, a crane that has been tossed by winds through long circuits of the air" ("de aquilonali Eversniae regione quaedam hospita grus ventis per longos aeris agitata circuitus . . . superveniet").⁶⁶ The monk is to gather up the exhausted crane, carry it to the nearest house, and care for it "as a guest" ("hospitaliter"). For three days "you will wait upon it, and feed it with anxious care"; then, "not wishing to be longer in pilgrimage with us (nolens ultra apud nos perigrinari), it will return with fully recovered strength to the sweet district of Ireland from which at first



Figure 2. A horse discovers food for the saint. *Life of St. Cuthbert*. © The British Library Board. London, British Library, MS Yates Thompson 26, folio 14r.

it came.”⁶⁷ The crane is resonant in some way with Columba himself. It comes “from the district of our fathers” (“de nostrae paternitatis regione”) that Columba recollects and perhaps regrets.⁶⁸ Earlier in his life Columba himself had journeyed from that district to Iona, “wishing to be a pilgrim for Christ (pro Christo perigrinari volens).”⁶⁹ But the crane is also importantly distinct from Columba, a beneficiary of the saint as it lives out its own biography. It returns “back to Ireland, in a straight line of flight” as Columba, for the moment, cannot.⁷⁰ Temporally dislocated from Columba’s earlier pilgrimage, the crane’s unfolds differently thanks to Columba’s hospitality. The saint and his followers have pressed the boundaries of Christendom outward so that a desert place has become a hospitable community. Species difference intensifies this temporal difference between crane and saint, insisting doubly on the saint’s coordination of his environment as he brings monastic hospitality to Britain.

In some hagiographic traditions and scholarship on hagiography, saints’ cross-species relationships are said to recover a prelapsarian existence in which the saints’ purity and proximity to God brings all creatures into loving obedience.⁷¹ It is certainly possible that the Garden of Eden was a subliminal point of reference for the early lives in the Irish tradition, but the specificity of their animal encounters is obscured when they are referred only to the Garden of Eden. These texts do not cite Genesis among their precedents. Instead, the Biblical precedents they cite apply Biblical verses to the saint’s immediate future. In the anonymous *Life of Saint Cuthbert*, interactions with various animals illustrate the verses “Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find” (Matthew 7:7); “Seek ye therefore first the kingdom of God and his justice: and all these things shall be added unto you” (Matthew 6:33); “For the laborer is worthy of his hire” (Luke 10:7); “If any man will not work, neither let him eat” (2 Thessalonians 3:10).⁷² As these citations suggest, animal encounters in my set of early insular *vitae* make less sense as attempts to return to the Garden of Eden than as forward-looking interventions in the fallen world. Hospitality, as a practice that is both spiritual and concrete, grounds saints in their contemporary environment; in further ways as well, these early *vitae* depict their saints engaging with postlapsarian creation.

After the Fall

Among the saints’ postlapsarian concerns are enforcing the concept of private property and competing with pagan religions by resisting or absorbing their beliefs and practices.⁷³ When mice gnaw his shoes on the island of Ibdon in Scotland, Cainnech instructs all the island’s mice to drown themselves, “and

on that island no mice are to be seen even today.”⁷⁴ Columba reproaches a man who is poaching “the sea calves that pertain to us (marini nostri juris vituli)” near the monastery of Iona by asking him, “Why do you repeatedly steal other people’s property (res alienas), transgressing the divine commandment?”⁷⁵ Fínán Cam and Cainnech reward their hosts by replacing and reanimating livestock that were killed in hospitality for them.⁷⁶ As part of his missionary work, Columba reveals that some milk a pagan priest has apparently drawn from a bull is actually blood bleached by demons; on another occasion Columba’s mastery of a water monster converts a crowd of Picts to Christianity.⁷⁷ Deploying their power over natural processes, the saints achieve both religious and practical ends.

Many of these saints, particularly in their youth, manage cattle miraculously. Fínán could separate cows from their calves by dragging his staff along the ground to make an intangible barrier between them, “and not one of them dared to cross the trace of the saint’s staff.”⁷⁸ Fintán, Cainnech, and Fínán command wolves to guard cattle “like ordinary dogs.”⁷⁹ These innovations in herding and guarding imagine what we would call domestication as submission to charismatic discipline. The wolves’ doglike “domestication” at the saint’s command illustrates his wonderful power over the material world but also his interest in how the world could be improved. Although disciplinary authority over wolves and cattle has analogies to the saints’ disciplinary authority over Christians, herd management is also a practical pastoral talent in its own right, a talent that serves the human community’s economic dependence on cattle.⁸⁰ That dependence is neatly conveyed in Luguid’s *vita* as he sets out to found his first monastery, “taking with him a few monks and five cows.”⁸¹

Cuthbert and his Irish predecessors sometimes arrive at mutually sustaining arrangements with animals. Flashes of reciprocity and experiments in cohabitation supplement the saints’ authoritative control. A first example from the anonymous *Life of Saint Cuthbert* contrasts with its biblical and patristic analogues. Ravens feed Elijah and Paul of Thebes in their desert isolation, but no reciprocity marks the encounters.⁸² As Cuthbert is traveling with a boy along the river Teviot, he prophesies that “the Lord will provide food for those who trust in him.” Soon an eagle drops a large fish that the boy retrieves. “Whereupon Cuthbert said, ‘Why did you not give our fisherman a part of it to eat since he was fasting?’ Then the boy, in accordance with the commands of the man of God, gave half of the fish to the eagle” (“dixit puero, Cur piscatori nostro ieiunanti partem ad vescendum non dedisti? Tunc vero puer, sicut

praeceperat homo Dei, partim piscis aquilae dedit").⁸³ Like the insular saints who work with cattle, Cuthbert acknowledges his need for a sustaining physical environment and his interest in how to maintain it.

Cainnech's interest in a dog's welfare inspires a penance built on reciprocity. Called to a rich man's home, Cainnech notices a weak, starving dog and asks the household, "Which of you prepares the food for this dog?" The rich man's wife confesses that the dog is in her care and offers to perform penance. The saint responds, "until the end of the year you will give the dinner meant for you to the dog, and you will eat the dog's dinner" ("Usque ad finem anni, tuum prandium cani detur, et tu prandium canis comede").⁸⁴ Performing this penance, the wife soon dies; Cainnech then raises her from the dead. Standards for both moral and material well-being inform Cainnech's position that the dog's starvation reflects badly on the household. His penance reducing the wife to the abject status of the dog is no doubt facilitated by womankind's excessively embodied and morally suspect status in Irish hagiography.⁸⁵ More saliently, the penance's reciprocal design corrects a failure of awareness that need not be specifically gendered: the wife's authority over a living animal, embodied as she is embodied, entails a moral responsibility to care well for it. The exchange of diets makes for a practical lesson in empathy.

Cuthbert's interaction with two birds (*corvi*, usually translated as crows or ravens) offers a more extended example of saintly investment in the present world. Cuthbert withdrew in his later years from his abbey at Lindisfarne to Farne Island. Here he built himself a retreat consisting of a well, a few small dwellings open to the sky, and a guest house for visitors.

Nam cum quadam die in insula sua fodiens, sulcabat terram, primum enim duobus vel tribus annis de opere manuum suorum antequam clausus obstructis ianuis intus maneret, laborans cotidianum victum acceperat, sciens dictum esse, Qui non laborat nec manducet, vidit duos corvos ante illic longo tempore manentes tecta domus navigantium in portum posite dissipantes, nidumque sibi facientes. Prohibuit autem eos leni motu manus, ne hanc iniuriam fratribus nidificantes facerent. Illis vero neglegentibus postremo motato spiritu, austere praecipiens in nomine Iesu Christi de insula discedere exterminavit. Illis igitur nec requies, nec mora patriam secundum preceptum eius deserentibus, post triduum alter e duobus revertens ante pedes hominis Dei fodienti iam ei terram supra sulcum expansis alis, et inclinato capite, sedens et mersus humili voce veniam indulgentie deposcens, crocitare cepit. Servus

autem Christi intellegens penitentiam eorum, veniam revertendi dedit. Illi vero corvi in eadem hora perpetrata pace, cum quodam munusculo ad insulam ambo reversi sunt, habens enim in ore suo quasi dimidiam suis adipem ante pedes eius deposuit. Illis iam indulgens hoc peccatum, usque adhuc illic manent. Haec mihi testes fidelissimi visitantes eum, et de adipe per totum anni spatium calciamenta sua liniantes cum glorificatione Dei indicaverunt.

When on a certain day on his island, he was digging and trenching the land (for at first, for two or three years before he shut himself in behind closed doors, he labored daily and gained his food by the work of his hands, knowing that it is said: “He that will not work, neither shall he eat”), he saw two ravens who had been there a long time, tearing to pieces the roof of the shelter built near the landing-place for the use of those who came over the sea, and making themselves a nest. He bade them, with a slight motion of his hand, not to do this injury to the brethren while building their nests. But when they disregarded him, at last his spirit was moved and sternly bidding them in the name of Jesus Christ to depart from the island, he banished them. Without any pause or delay, they deserted their homes according to his command, but after three days, one of the two returned to the feet of the man of God as he was digging the ground, and settling above the furrow with outspread wings and drooping head, began to croak loudly, with humble cries asking his pardon and indulgence. And the servant of Christ recognizing their penitence gave them pardon and permission to return. And those ravens at the same hour having won peace, both returned to the island with a little gift. For each held in its beak about half a piece of swine’s lard which it placed before his feet. He pardoned their sin and they remain there until today. Most trustworthy witnesses who visited him, and for the space of a whole year greased their boots with the lard, told me of these things, glorifying God.⁸⁶

Cuthbert expects to work, in a postlapsarian mode, “knowing that it is said: ‘He that will not work, neither shall he eat.’”⁸⁷ Modifying his new environment by building and thatching a guest house, Cuthbert makes private property out of the island’s natural materials by mixing them with his labor. Now that Farne’s grasses have become thatch, the ravens, who “have been there a long time” before Cuthbert, are in the new position of doing “injury to the

brethren" in taking the grass thatch for their nests. In a second modification of his environment made necessary by the construction of the guest house, Cuthbert puts its roof off-limits to the ravens. But subsequently he establishes a harmonious relationship with them, permitting them to nest as before in return for their gestures of repentance and an offering of swine's lard. This fascinating gift draws on the ravens' talent for disposing of carrion to provide waterproofing for the boots of Cuthbert's visitors: "witnesses who visited him . . . for the space of a whole year greased their boots with the lard." Once again, the forms of hospitality express animals' relations to the saint: offering lard for waterproofing the guests' boots is an extension of drying and warming the guests' feet.

In this early insular hagiography, forward-looking environmental curiosity is more salient than nostalgia for a lost paradise. What would a useful raven look like? How should relations between wolves and cattle be modified? The saints' interactions with animals tend to refer these questions to natural science, not just biblical precedent. While Fínán Cam is visiting a virtuous man named Mokelloc, a wolf kills Mokelloc's only calf. Fínán first requires the wolf to stand in for the calf, allowing the cows to lick him so their milk will come down again. But this is not sufficient restitution, declares Fínán; he next requires the wolf to find a replacement calf and finally to spend the rest of his life guarding Mokelloc's cattle.⁸⁸ As the wolf moves through these three roles, he is thrice useful to Fínán's host, but the wolf's lifelong role as guardian of the cattle takes fullest advantage of his abilities. Problem? A ravenous wolf is killing cattle. Solution? Subordinate him to the cattle, then redirect his ferocity to their protection. Similarly, the ravens' gift to Cuthbert is part of a penitential process, but it also makes the ravens materially useful in the hosting of Farne Island's visitors. Fínán's and Cuthbert's arrangements are pragmatic in their acceptance of wolves as killers and ravens as carrion eaters, behaviors that become part of a revised relationship to the saints and their communities.

Modifying the environment in these miracles entails obedience. Like hospitality, obedience is a crucial feature of Irish monasticism that comes to inform the animal encounters in the early Lives. The monastic rule of Columbanus makes obedience the first of its injunctions, with Christ's submission to sacrifice as its divine model: "nothing must be refused in their obedience by Christ's true disciples, however hard and difficult it be, but it must be seized with zeal, with gladness, since if obedience is not of this nature, it will not be pleasing to the Lord."⁸⁹ Obedience corrects pride as asceticism corrects cupidity; these sins are the greatest threats to virtue, according to the rule of

Columbanus. Irish monasticism, although based on antique monasticism of the desert, shifted that model from exalting eremitic solitude toward greater emphasis on the religious community, where obedience was the guiding principle for all interactions.⁹⁰ Like the structures of hospitality that expand to encompass animals, the ravens' and the wolf's obedience expands the model of monastic community outward into the natural realm. The ravens' repentant obedience repeats a pastoral paradigm: Cuthbert reprimands, instructs, and pardons the ravens in terms quite similar to his reprimand, pardon, and instruction of the Coldingham cleric who spied on his encounter with sea animals.

This alignment of animals and human followers puts them all in contrast with the mode of Cuthbert's authority over the inanimate world. Cuthbert diverts fire away from his nurse's house, not by commanding the fire or the winds to obey him, but by praying successfully for God's intervention.⁹¹ Digging a well on Farne, he prays with his brethren "because God is able from the stony rock to bring forth water for him who asks."⁹² Needing a twelve-foot beam of wood for the foundation of his guest house, Cuthbert "received aid from our Lord Jesus Christ in answer to his prayers"; while he slept that night, the waves of the sea "landed a floating timber" in exactly the right place.⁹³ In contrast to praying to God for changes in the inanimate world, Cuthbert directly reproaches, commands, and pardons the ravens and the cleric of Coldingham. All creation serves the saint, demonstrating his holiness, but the mode of his authority is intercessory in the case of the four elements, and pastoral in the case of the animate creatures.

The pastoral alignment of humans with other animals is an intriguing revision to orthodox teaching about God's creation. All living creatures in these early insular *vitae* can understand the concepts of sin, repentance, restitution, and pardon. In these ways they are as postlapsarian as all humanity. According to any strictly doctrinal approach, ravens cannot commit a "sin" or experience "penitence" as the anonymous *Life of Saint Cuthbert* asserts, nor could a wolf act "in humility and penance" as it does in the *vita* of Fínán Cam.⁹⁴ Augustine, Ambrose, and further church fathers agree that only humans possess the reason and free will that allow for both sinning and repenting. Other animals are driven by instinct. They can have an inborn virtuousness (turtledove and phoenix, for example) or an inborn viciousness (fox and wolf, for example), but this innate virtue or vice is not subject to revision.⁹⁵ Just as unorthodox as a sinning and repenting raven is a raven who understands the spoken instructions of a saint. Nothing in medieval theology or semiotics suggests that ravens

could understand the Irish or English or Latin instruction of the saints.⁹⁶ And yet, in order to stress this aspect of the interaction, the anonymous *Life of Saint Cuthbert* narrates that the ravens do not leave off destroying the thatch on his guest house when the saint gestures at them, but only when he speaks to them. To make clear that it accepts Cuthbert's correction, one of the ravens returns to Farne to act out a vivid plea for Cuthbert's forgiveness. The ravens' understanding and their submissive response reopen Farne to their nesting.

My reading of animal encounters contrasts with two familiar ways of reconciling Cuthbert's ravens to orthodoxy that I find unsatisfactory. First, it may seem that the ravens are simply the cleric of Coldingham all over again—that they are vehicles of a teaching whose tenor, Cuthbert's great virtue, has effaced their significance as birds. This reading would efface the unique aspects of every encounter in the *Life of Saint Cuthbert*, reducing the whole song of praise to a single note. The Anonymous *Life* is better served if we accept that the variety and range of Cuthbert's authority, including his authority over nonhuman creatures, contributes to his greatness and to the specificity of his monastic tradition.

A second way to set animals outside relevance is to concede their physical presence but to attribute their actions to divine manipulation. Of course there is miraculous energy in these animal-saint encounters that opens animal mentality to communication, but the miraculous is only one component of the animal's reaction. When Columba's work-horse weeps, knowing Columba is near death, Adomnán distinguishes between the horse's divinely opened awareness and his creaturely grief. The horse's foreknowledge is "inspired, as I believe, by God, before whom every living creature has understanding, with such perception of things as the Creator himself has decreed" ("ut credo inspirante deo cui omne animal rerum sapit sensu quo juserit ipse creator").⁹⁷ The horse's foreknowledge comes from God, but his sorrow and tears are not God's divine response to Columba's death. Instead, the horse's sorrow is a messy physical affair of dripping tears and frothing saliva: "he began to mourn, and like a human being to let tears fall freely on the lap of the saint, and foaming much, to weep aloud" ("coepit plangere ubertimque quasi homo lacrimas in gremium sancti fundere, et valde spumans flere").⁹⁸ Resisting a follower's effort to brush the horse away, Columba understands that the horse's grief is the animal's own response to his foreknowledge: "Let him, let him that loves us pour out the tears of most bitter grief here in my bosom" ("Sine hunc, sine nostri amatorem, ut in hunc meum sinum fletus effundat amarissimi plangoris").⁹⁹

Cuthbert's ravens invite the same parsing of divine and animal roles: if

God were simply taking over the ravens' responses in order to provide an illustration of how humans ought to behave, the ravens would be no more than finger puppets whose obedience would no longer express the saint's universal moral authority. Instead, to emphasize the ravens' living animality, Cuthbert's relationship with them preserves their species-specific behavior. They continue to nest on Farne "until today." They continue to scavenge for animal fat after understanding that it is wrong to take thatch from the roof of the guest house. They demonstrate their repentance by offering the saint a delicious chunk of carrion they would normally gobble up rather than surrender. Their obedience to Cuthbert's instruction is wonderful because it is their own ravenly, ravenous obedience, and not a divine puppet show.

Spiritual Environment

Implicit in these communicative encounters is a model of how creation holds together. In coordination with bringing Christian faith to new settlements, the saints also transform the more than human world. The two spheres become one as saints work along the frontier between settlements—fragile bastions against transience—and the powerful forces that surround them. Saints bring rain, shift winds, sweeten bitter fruit, hasten the harvest, even keep themselves dry in the snow by thinking on angels.¹⁰⁰ As we have seen, the saints also express their mastery over the created world in ecumenical and reforming relationships with animals that could well be called pastoral—linking clerical pastoralism back to its etymological source in herd management. The saints' engagements do not sharply divide a realm of human society from a realm of nature.¹⁰¹

But this wording is inadequate to the vision of saintliness in the Lives. As the saints bring settlements and wilderness into interpenetration, "society" and "nature" flow into one another, become contingent on one another, in that logic of supplementarity by which the supplement betrays the incompleteness of the apparent wholeness that preceded it. When Columba articulates the hosting of a crane as an extension of Iona's hosting of human pilgrims, the latter merely human hosting is shown to be incomplete in relation to the full potential of hospitality. Cuthbert's hosting by otters likewise suggests that the "social" is no longer an exclusively human context for saintly relationships. Cuthbert in the Anonymous *Life* could be said to distort monastic society by bringing other creatures into its forms. Or just as easily, the Anonymous *Life* could be said to denature animals by bringing them into the forms of hospitality and obedience. As the saint's pastoral care expands to encompass the

correction of wolves and the penitential gift from ravens, the hagiographers narrate the interpenetrations of “social” and “natural” with serene wonder, as if they were unproblematic. If these interpenetrations were truly unproblematic, however, it would be difficult to explain why so many scholars, from Bede onward, have insisted that they are not taking place—that “it is not *nature* that is being depicted here, it is *society*.”¹⁰² Irish hagiography’s view of nature and society is neither dichotomous nor reassuring; it is often quite odd. What is a crane doing in a guest house? Is it not uncanny how the two little animals at work on Cuthbert’s feet so closely echo Cuthbert’s two hands at work on the angel’s feet? In presenting a natural world so continuous with human society, Irish hagiography’s hierarchy of species looks less than vertical, tilting over toward horizontality. Its animals make its humans look less uniquely social, less unique among animals, more entangled in their environments. Here it seems the Lives of Cuthbert and Columba resonate faintly across the ages with the environmental thought of Timothy Morton, Katherine Hayles, or Ursula Heise.¹⁰³ These and other post-humanist interpreters urge that societies and natures, humans and other animals, are intricately enmeshed in dynamic environments stretching outward and upward beyond our ken.

As Cuthbert moves through creation, a trace of lived experience hovers just beyond the miraculous narrative. Clare Stancliffe has pointed out that most of Cuthbert’s miracles “can be understood quite plausibly as being based on real events, which were perceived as miracles, while none of them are of the wholly impossible, magical type.”¹⁰⁴ A workman stashing food beneath the thatch of an empty house or an eagle losing its grip on a fish could have fed Cuthbert without divine intervention. The miracle of Cuthbert’s ravens also has a basis in ordinary events. Farne Island lacks trees, favored for nesting by ravens (*Corvus corax*). In his edition of the *Life of Saint Cuthbert in English Verse*, J. T. Fowler proposed that “the ‘crows’ . . . that built on Farne were probably jackdaws [*Corvus monedula*], which abound there now.”¹⁰⁵ Konrad Lorenz, a lifelong student of jackdaw behavior, describes the “plaintive begging gestures and notes” used by juvenile jackdaws and adult female jackdaws: lowering their bodies toward the ground and half-spreading their wings, they make “infantile sounds” to solicit attention and care.¹⁰⁶ The posture is that of Cuthbert’s repentant *corvus*, begging with “outspread wings and drooping head” and emitting “humble cries asking his pardon and indulgence.” Other corvines such as crows and ravens beg similarly as juveniles, but it is tempting to think of Farne’s *corvi* as jackdaws since they still nest in the rocks of this treeless island.

Is it licit to recollect the behavior of living birds as we read this miracle of a *corvus* asking Cuthbert's pardon? In "Lifting Our Eyes from the Page," an essay that has been foundational for environmental studies, Yves Bonnefoy takes literary theory to task for evading, in the latter decades of the twentieth century, the question of how texts are related to experiences. Bonnefoy praises deconstruction's rigorous attentiveness to language in these decades—and that very attentiveness has revealed language's incapacities as well as its immense constitutive power. Imaginative language derives imperfectly from experience, soliciting readers who make their worldly memories part of their reception—readers who look up from the page, "giving new life to its words with our memories or present experiments."¹⁰⁷ This version of reading might sound like a futile effort to reject language in favor of "true life," but Bonnefoy insists that both poetry and experience snatch imperfectly at life, each sustaining the other's efforts: "It is not within the poet's scope to reestablish presence. But he can recall that presence is a possible experience, and he can stir up the need for it, keep open the path that leads toward it."¹⁰⁸

The anonymous author of the *Life of Saint Cuthbert* and his first audience were surely as familiar with outdoor asceticism and labor as they were with texts and study. Their own experience of corvine behavior would have sustained Cuthbert's sanctity quite differently from the authentication of textual precedent. For the latter sustenance, the Anonymous *Life* could evoke Noah's *corvus* that failed to return to the ark and Paul of Thebes's *corvus* bringing him a ration of bread.¹⁰⁹ Reduced to their basic structures, these textual precedents provide a spiritual lineage for Cuthbert's encounter: "*Corvus* disobedient or without virtue" in the Biblical text, "*corvus* bringing a gift" in the *Life of Paul*. Quite differently, the behavior of Cuthbert's *corvus* also invites meaning to come from the "present experiments" of contemporaries on Farne and Lindisfarne. The living *corvus* offers the textual *corvus* an authenticating correlative, but the living *corvus* authenticates differently from textual precedents. It unites Cuthbert with the created world, not this time by means of narrating his connection but by introducing a resonance between the narrative and the readers' experiences of the vivid begging behavior of corvines. Various inflected by wind, heat, damp, curiosity, incomprehension, irritation, contempt, fascination, or amusement, each reader's experience of the birds' gestures and cries would bring a unique somatic and memorial energy to reading the *Life*. "What exactly is a 'text'? Where does it begin, and where does it end?" asks Bonnefoy.¹¹⁰ Evoking a peculiar behavior of birds on Farne, the text of the Anonymous *Life* makes itself porous, opens its meaning to its readers'

material presence on earth. Their recollections that yes, birds do behave so, might reinforce their wonder that Cuthbert could so enmesh himself in the behavior, becoming its motive and controlling its outcome. Cuthbert's virtue infuses the created world by entering into its mysterious operations.

Throughout the anonymous *Life of Saint Cuthbert*, thought about Cuthbert's relation to his surroundings is integral to thought about Cuthbert's sanctity. The flash of mimetic intensity that represents a living bird's helpless pleading recognizes that the created world is both a discursive concept and a living place that is external to discourse. Animal encounters, that is, are not merely metaphoric in the early insular saints' lives. Cuthbert's encounter with the *corvus*, even as it models monastic penance and obedience, also significantly extends the reach of Cuthbert's control into a material realm that appears powerful and intractable wherever the saint does not intervene.

In this chapter I have emphasized in Irish monastic works a recurring fascination with the material presence of all creatures in an earthly sphere of cohabitation. The poet of "Pangur Bán" may have drawn on hagiography's appreciation for material presence in depicting the practical, mutually beneficial cohabitation of a scholar and a cat. The hagiographers find mutuality as well in the hospitable sea animals and the repentant ravens. Their modes of engagement do not fit with authoritative patristic exegesis concerning the uniquely human capacities for sin, reason, and repentance. This predominantly Augustinian tradition, which has roots as well in Classical philosophy, becomes a more proximate point of reference in twelfth-century fables, lays, and bestiaries. As they engage more directly with the church fathers concerning relationships among the creatures, these twelfth-century works speak to our contemporary engagements with philosophical tradition. Representing as well as revising this tradition, the fable, lay, and bestiary discussed in Chapters 2 and 3 ponder the complexities of embodied consciousness within and beyond the human.

Chapter 2

Wolf, Man, and Wolf-Man

In the works of Marie de France, philosophy and poetry touch and diverge. Marie's prologue to her *Fables* (ca. 1190) praises the example of "li philosophe," wise teachers who write to instruct; she defends her fables on the ground that "n'i ad fable de folie / U il nen ait philosophie / Es essamples ki sunt après, / U des cuntes est tut li fes" ("there is no fable so foolish that does not offer 'philosophy' in the apologues that follow, where all the weight of the story lies").¹ Marie's *fable de folie* refers to the imagined narrative of talking beasts, and her term *philosophie* characterizes the admonitory lesson that follows the imagined narrative. Her distinction between foolish fable and wise philosophy turns on the moment when the animal characters evanesce into a lesson on human conduct. At that moment, the Aesopic beast fable asserts that it was never about beasts at all.² The beasts of fable do not even rise to the status of allegorical or metaphorical figures for humans, as Jill Mann explains; instead, the beasts offer a particular instance of anthropomorphic behavior that supports a general observation on the ways of humankind.³ Retrospectively, the fable's narrative appears fanciful, amusing, but also foolish, insubstantial, just a lure for catching attention. The fable's very structure performs a disappearing act with animals.

Marie's contrast between *fable de folie* and *philosophie* adumbrates Jacques Derrida's distinction between *poésie* and *philosophie* in a work perhaps more influential than any other for critical animal studies: "Thinking concerning the animal, if there is such a thing, derives from poetry. There you have a thesis: it is what philosophy has, essentially, had to deprive itself of."⁴ Derrida's *philosophie* encompasses long traditions of rational analysis stretching from antiquity through the twentieth century, and his *poésie* turns out to encompass imaginative writing of many kinds ranging from the Book of Genesis to *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*. He expands on his conception of *poésie* in

a further essay by associating poetry's teaching with hearts, not minds. "You will have had to disable memory, disarm culture, know how to forget knowledge" in order to read poetry, and instead to embrace "the dream of *learning by heart*. . . . I call a poem that very thing that teaches the heart, invents the heart, *that which*, finally, the word *heart* seems to mean."⁵ This case for poetry's nonrational, affective teaching urges that there could be a way to see the foolish little narratives of Aesopic fable as separately and differently signifying components, not just as illustrations for the apologues' teaching.

The beast fables circulating in medieval Europe were not so much a genre as "an open field of opportunity," writes Edward Wheatley.⁶ Still bearing traces of their Classical history as a rhetorical strategy of persuasive speaking, Marie's fables are recast to illustrate feudal vices and virtues such as treason, honor, and felony. The fables' address to a courtly audience, most overtly in Marie's dedication to a Count William, connects the *Fables* to a contemporaneous collection of courtly lays. Marie de France, as we call her from the epilogue to the *Fables*, may well be the same Marie who dedicated her *Lais* (ca. 1170) to a "noble king," Henry II of England or possibly his son Henry Plantagenet, who was called the Young King from 1173 onward.⁷ Whether or not they share the same author, the *Fables* and *Lais* address the same or very similar Anglo-French aristocratic circles of the later twelfth century. Despite their overlapping audiences, Marie's fable of a priest and a wolf and Marie's lay about a werewolf offer two distinct versions of "beast" and "human," each version moving outside philosophical discourse while remaining in dialogue with it.

The Trouble with Fable

From an animal studies perspective, the trouble with fable is above all that the form invites little thought on creatures other than human. Persistently under construction in medieval as well as post-medieval thought, the human is, as Diana Fuss wryly observes, "one of our most elastic fictions."⁸ The *philosophie* of fables is a baby-steps version of high medieval philosophy's ongoing project of delineating the human. In the fables' move from narrative to apologue, the beasts of narrative are useful in that they illuminate human ways, but they are of no interest beyond that usefulness. The apologues insist "Thus it is with many people," "This is what great lords do," "It is like this at the royal court," "In this story of a fish we are taught about a wicked man. . . ."⁹ Analogously, on a different level of sophistication and articulation, in the high philosophy

of Augustine of Hippo the animals other than human are of interest when they help to define humanity's special difference and closeness to God. "It is not so very absurd to think of animals as enjoying nourishment and all the bodily pleasures. However, only a living being possessed of reason can *use* anything. . . . Everything which is made is made for man's *use*, because reason, which is given to man, uses all things by judging all things."¹⁰ Biblical commentaries such as Ambrose of Milan's *Hexameron* expound at great length how the created world centers around God's plan for humankind.¹¹

In the work of church fathers as well as in the apologues of fable, the inferiority of animals to human purposes is more accurately an assumption than a topic of analysis. Reviewing the works of Augustine, Gillian Clark points out that "he never (and this in itself is important) engaged in sustained theological argument about the nature of animals and their relationship to God and to humans. He made assertions about animals, sometimes when expounding a text of scripture, often in the context of argument or exegesis on quite different questions."¹² Yet, however peripheral these assertions about animals may appear, they consistently sustain philosophy's project of delineating the human, as Karl Steel and others have shown.¹³ On its much diminished scale, the Aesopic tradition deploys animals to teach so exclusively about human societies and politics that it seems inappropriate to interrogate the proud rooster, the cruel wolf, and the innocent lamb for any comment on animals other than human.

Fortunately, from an animal studies perspective, the trouble with fable is double. Fable presses its beasts into human shapes, but it also troubles the beasts' relation to the apologue, deflecting attention from the human and back toward the pleasure of imagining proximity to other animals. These less overt operations of fable arise as their narratives exceed their apologues, in excesses that Marie calls *folie* and that I have associated with Derrida's characterization of *poésie*. Even a compact exemplar, Marie's *Fable* 81, sometimes titled "The Priest and the Wolf," can hint at the arbitrariness inherent in juxtaposing a fanciful narrative and a proverbial apologue:

Un prestre volst jadis aprendre
 a un lu lettres fere entendre.
 "A," dist li prestre, "a," dist li lus,
 que mut ert fel e enginnus:
 "B," dist le prestre, "di od mei!"
 "B," dist li lus, "[e] jo l'otrei."

“C,” dist le prestre, “di avant!”
 “C,” dist li lus, “a i dunc itant?”
 Respunt le prestre: “Ore di par tei!”
 Li lus li dist: “Jeo ne sai quei.”
 “Di que te semble, si espel!”
 Respunt li lus, il dit: “Aignel!”
 Le prestre dit que verité tuche:
 tel en pensé, tel en la buche.
 Le plus [de ceus] dit hum suvent:
 cel dunt il pensent durement,
 e par lur buche est cuneü,
 ainceis que seit d’autre sceü;
 la buche mustre le penser,
 tut deive ele dē el parler. (*Fables*, 81)¹⁴

Once a priest wanted to teach a wolf how to understand letters. “A,” said the priest; “A,” said the wolf, who was very cruel and deceptive. “B,” said the priest, “say it along with me.” “B,” said the wolf, “I agree to it.” “C,” said the priest, “go ahead and say it.” “C,” said the wolf, “are there so many of them?” Replied the priest, “Now say it on your own!” The wolf replied, “I don’t know what it is.” “Say what looks right to you, spell it out!” The wolf answers and says to him, “Lamb!” The priest says he spoke truly: As in the mind, so in the mouth.

Most often people speak thus: whatever they are thinking about is made known by their mouth before anyone else has heard about it. The mouth reveals the thought even when it should speak of something different.

The closing lines recruit the little narrative to illustrate a general observation, casting the observation as proverbial wisdom and inscribing the observation even within the narrative when the priest voices the proverb himself—“As in the mind, so in the mouth.” Yet the apologue is far from self-evident; other versions of the fable draw other conclusions. When Pope Urban II cites the story, the wolf who cries “lamb” does not evoke people who speak their minds too readily; instead he represents those clergymen who care more about worldly than about spiritual things.¹⁵ In Urban’s and Marie’s conclusions, the wolf rather than the priest is the target of critique, but in a third instantiation of this fable, carved on Parma’s twelfth-century cathedral, the priest is an ass.

Holding the staff of pedagogy between his front hooves, this teacher looks naive or stupid to have taken a wolf for a student (Figure 3). The fable now illustrates neither the risks of indiscretion nor the attraction of worldly goods but the folly of attempting to educate the wicked—or perhaps the folly of education itself.¹⁶ None of these conclusions about the narrative is untenable, and none of them accounts entirely for the narrative. As Frank Kermode remarks, diverse interpretations of a single parable are “actualizations of its hermeneutic potential, which, though never fully available, is inexhaustible.”¹⁷ Parable and fable alike offer narratives that, by the very nature of narrative, brim with interpretive possibilities. The encounter of priest and wolf fits but also exceeds each of its potential apologues, inviting an endless stream of them.

Once the bond between *fable de folie* and *philosophie* is loosened, once the assignment of the *philosophie* is exposed as a formal exercise visited on narratives that are always in excess of that exercise, the fables’ *folie* is free to yield meanings that are less (or more) than rational. These implicit poetic meanings arise from the pleasure of incongruity. Before *philosophie* turns everyone human, “The Priest and the Wolf” imagines a wolf attempting to read. Not a “novice” or a “princeling” but a “wolf.” What a folly! In this through-the-looking-glass



Figure 3. The Wolf at School. Duomo, Parma, Italy. Scala/Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali/Art Resource, New York.

world, the priest's plan to teach a wolf may be extravagant, but his desire for the encounter and the spectacle of a rapacious carnivore reciting the alphabet could make any scholar smile. The wolf's animality is intensified by contrast with his human teacher, so pedagogic, so Christian. *Philosophie* may gloss the wolf as a man, but initially "wolf" and "priest" invoke two different species with absurdly mismatched priorities.¹⁸ The fable's next incongruity confuses the representation of species by mixing anthropomorphism with its inversion, zoomorphism—the attribution of animal qualities to humans. The wolf's anthropomorphic speaking and reading facilitate the encounter, but the beast who is in some sense a student is simultaneously a student who is in some sense a beast. A, B, and C are challenging enough ("are there so many of them?"), but the priest's next instruction, "di que te semble, si espel!" ("say what it looks like, spell/sound it out!") whiplashes the poor student from rote learning to something like phonics.¹⁹ Who cannot identify with this brain-freezing moment when thought is asked to take a new step? Zoomorphism can generate its own exhortations and reproaches, but before the moralizing kicks in, as the scene of instruction unfolds, the wolf's clueless insouciance depressurizes the educational process. The impossibly high standards for the "human" relax for a moment. What a pleasure to experience the wolfish scholar in this scene, to care with him so little for teaching, to think on lambs instead of letters.²⁰ This anti-rational, affective experience constitutes the *poésie* of fable, the expression of human proximity to other animals—before the fable delivers its negative comment on that proximity, Marie's "think before you speak" or Urban's "care for the spirit, not for the world."

"The Priest and the Wolf" heightens its species incongruities by evoking them in the context of an exclusively human accomplishment, the acquisition of letters. For high philosophy, a primary differentiation between human and animal is that animals' knowledge is inborn, not learned (see Chapter 3). Lessons on animal intransigence abound in medieval fable collections: never try to get away from your nature, nature is stronger than nurture, you cannot escape your nature.²¹ Yet the fables also abound in schemes for change, acts of bravado, and clever reversals of fortune that run counter to their closing assertions that nature is unchanging. The fox harassing an eagle, the mouse mobilizing many mice to save a lion, the rooster tricking a fox, and the wolf at school variously resist the apologue's *philosophie* on the stability of nature.²² These innovative schemes often fail, crossed by counter-schemes or doomed by their outsized ambition, but the potential for change is persistent and not persistently thwarted. The fox rescues his cub from the eagle, the mouse

counteracts weakness with numbers, the rooster saves his life by learning the fox's trick, and even the priest has an outside chance at reforming the wolf by teaching him letters. The wolf begins his lessons "cruel and deceptive" but forgets himself sufficiently that his "mouth reveals the thought." What is that thought? Christian education commingled reciting the ABCs with learning to make the sign of the cross and speak a first prayer, "Christ's cross me speed."²³ In this context, could the wolf's uncensored answer "Lamb!" evoke the sacrificial symbol of the Christian faith? Less optimistically, perhaps the wolf answers with a transgressive lupine version of Christianity: yum, pass me that sacrificial lamb!

When taken sequentially and rationally, the fables' *philosophie* damps down the sparks spinning off their foolish narratives. The fable form could even be indicted for exploiting the pleasures of *intimacy* with animals in order to insist on the *difference* of the human. When taken nonsequentially as a poetry of affect and imagination, the fables contradict their reductive apologies in their topsy turvy narratives. Identifying what the fable "teaches by heart" involves reading them against the grain, however, so that fable can easily seem inhospitable to animal studies. In contrast, Marie's *Lay of Bisclavret* invites reflection on the animal continuum, deploying a carefully specified metamorphosis to consider how one creature might become another while still retaining some relation to his other states of being.

Animal Philosophy

Much of the scholarly work on medieval poetry, like much philosophical work, has been organized around a basic distinction between humans and all other animals. This distinction or boundary has served medieval studies well: scholars have demonstrated how thoroughly it has structured cultures from late classical times onward, and they have traced moments when the boundary is enforced, crossed, or reasserted. Medieval poetry, however, sometimes unfolds a contrasting conception that humans and other animals occupy together a field of resonances, equivalences, and differences—and not differences that precipitate into a sharply delineated binary. In Marie's *Lay of Bisclavret*, shared qualities of body, mind, and ethical capacity converge in a wolf-man who is neither outlaw nor monster. His strange virtue flourishes in the climate of wonder and adventure peculiar to Marie's lays, a space of imagination that can do without the clarifying dichotomy between man and wolf.

This bisclavret's proliferating interpenetrations are at odds with authoritative strains of medieval philosophical thought. As in Marie's fables, in Marie's lays philosophical and poetic thought are not isolated from one another; on the contrary, they express different emphases and commitments within a shared literary culture. Genre is one point of entry into the contrast between poetry and philosophy: Breton lay and romance offer climates or environments where habits of mind can flourish that differ from the analytical habits of mind that flourish best in philosophical genres such as the *summa* and the biblical commentary. These latter genres interpret the first two chapters of the Book of Genesis as establishing a hierarchy in which human difference from other creatures is constitutive and highly valued, and human relation to other creatures is delimited and denigrated.²⁴ The double nature assigned to humans, eternal but also fleshly, takes on a didactic role: we should turn away from our animal desires toward heavenly goals; even our bodily posture admonishes us to raise our thoughts from earthly to eternal life. As the twelfth-century English bestiaries take the *topos* from Isidore of Seville, "the human stands erect and looks toward heaven so as to seek God, rather than look at the earth, as do the beasts that nature has made bent over and attentive to their bellies."²⁵ Patristic exegesis focuses especially on Genesis 1:26: "And [God] said: Let us make man to our image and likeness; and let him have dominion over the fishes of the sea, and the fowls of the air, and the beasts, and the whole earth, and every creeping creature that moveth upon the earth."²⁶ Commenting on the conjunction in this verse of "image and likeness" in the first half with "let him have dominion" in the second half, Augustine concludes that we are to understand that Adam is like God in the same way as he is unlike animals: "man was made to the image of God in that part of his nature wherein he surpasses the brute beasts. This is, of course, his reason or mind or intelligence, or whatever we wish to call it."²⁷ Augustine's interpretation has correlative in Classical philosophy as well: most of the late Neoplatonists endorsed Plato's and Aristotle's view that nonhuman animals were *alogá zôa*, living beings without *logos*, rendered in Latin as *ratio*. Encompassing the capacity for rational thought, thought's expression in language, and knowledge of God, *logos* or *ratio* is the human faculty that all other creatures lack.²⁸ Closer to Marie's milieu, the English bestiaries recount that in Genesis 2:20 Adam named the animals "calling each by a name that corresponded to its place in the natural order."²⁹ Adam's meaningful names demonstrate his likeness to God.

Not only in Classical philosophy and medieval theology but in the post-medieval humanist traditions as well, positing a profound distinction between

humans and other animals has united philosophers who are often adversaries in other respects. René Descartes stands apart from medieval and early modern tradition in many ways, yet he sides with Thomas Aquinas in comparing the unreasoning animals to mechanisms such as clocks.³⁰ Moving to some degree against the humanist hierarchization of creatures, Martin Heidegger nonetheless continues to define animal mentality as inferiority, not alterity, on a single scale of plenitude and lack: animals are “poor in world,” sunk in being without the capacity to affect their environment, whereas humans “have world” by that very measure: they are “world-forming.”³¹ From an ethical standpoint, Immanuel Kant specifies that humans can only have direct moral duties to other humans. Dog on the one hand and God on the other are outside the uniquely human terrain of rational embodiment, and therefore outside the possibility of ethical relationship. In an unfounded epicycle to his argument, Kant asserts that animals should be well treated in spite of their exclusion from the ethical sphere because maltreating them might harden us against our fellow humans.³² However these rationalist philosophers may differ in other respects, they are united by their commitment to a “human” radically superior to other creatures.

At certain moments in rationalist philosophies, human supremacy extends beyond possessing the *logos* that other creatures lack to rendering lack in the animal body as well. To exemplify a being “with neither ethics nor *logos*,” Emmanuel Levinas recalls a dog named Bobby who, for a few short weeks, changed the dehumanizing conditions of a Nazi internment camp by greeting the prisoners daily, “jumping up and down and barking in delight.”³³ As one of these prisoners who were to their guards no more than a “gang of apes,” Levinas recalls Bobby’s behavior in moving detail, but he refuses to grant Bobby ethical status because dogs are “without the brain needed to universalize maxims”: a dog could express some canine equivalent of “I love you,” but he could never formulate his commitment in universal terms—“love thy neighbor.”³⁴ Since for Levinas, following Kant, it is only in relation to such universals that the other gains a “face” and solicits ethical treatment, a dog has no face: we can look at Bobby but we can have no ethical relationship to him. Asked in a later interview about animal faces, Levinas tentatively conceded to certain animals a face secondary to that of humanity: “The human face is completely different and only afterwards do we discover the face of an animal. I don’t know if a snake has a face. I can’t answer that question. A more specific analysis is needed.”³⁵ Heidegger similarly asserts that animals have no hands: even the apes, he argues, do not think and therefore do not produce

culture. “Only a being who can speak, that is, think, can have hands and can be handy in achieving works of handicraft.”³⁶ I’m fascinated by these images in which a mental lack ascribed to animals (no maxim making, no culture making) is figured as a physical lack (no face, no hand). Heidegger and Levinas mean their locutions simply as memorable figures for the animal’s intangible mental lack, but when they render the intangible lack as a physical difference, they contradict the very opposition they have posited between the physicality other animals share with humans and the culture-making mentality that sets humans apart and above. If what distinguishes us is our minds, it seems excessive, perhaps anxiously so, to present our mental superiority in terms of the physical: *we* have the face and hand *they* lack. From a medieval perspective, the animal’s missing face and hand recall judicial mutilation: the mark of an invisible failure or crime transferred to the body and posted visibly there. I will return to Levinas’s and Heidegger’s physical figurations of animal lack at the moment in *Bisclavret* when the werewolf tears the nose off his wife’s face.

The intense scrutiny that rationalist philosophies have received within animal studies subtends my very condensed summary.³⁷ Condensation can emphasize how broadly credible a decisive cut between “the human” and “the animal” has been across many centuries and schools of thought. As in the work of Augustine, the reductiveness results from philosophers’ disconcert with the binary’s second term; they are clearing a space for close focus on “the human.” A landmark critique with influences spreading throughout scholarship on animals came with Derrida’s ten hours of lectures at Cerisy, published piece by piece after 1997 and finally in book form as *L’animal que donc je suis* (2006).³⁸ The French title plays on the best known assertion of rationalist philosophy, the Cartesian maxim “je pense donc je suis” (“I think therefore I am”), which is homonymic with “I think therefore I follow.” Inserting “animal” into the maxim displaces what it is to be human from *rational* animal to rational *animal*: “the (human) animal that therefore I am.” Just as in everyday parlance, however, the “animal” of this title can encompass the human or exclude it. In the latter mode, “the (nonhuman) animal that therefore I follow” revises the Cartesian maxim’s exclusive focus on the human to implicate all beings in the situation of human being. This “being” of the title’s “I am” is shot through with its homonymic “I follow,” opening the “I” to temporality as well as contingency on other animals. “I am following” myself and other animals together, Derrida asserts, unsettling both selfhood and animality by overlaying them on one another and also by emphasizing their shared subjection to time: “I follow” brings temporality into the transhistorical stasis of “I

am.” In their subjection to time, living creatures acquire a historical dimension that opens them to relationship, change, and mortality. In brief, Derrida’s title prepared for a deconstruction of the human/animal binary of the kind he had been practicing all through his career on philosophical distinctions whose false clarity, he argued, hindered rather than advanced philosophical discovery.

Following out the implications in his title, Derrida traces several interlocking problems with the traditional animal/human binary. Three of these have special relevance for reading Marie’s *Lay of Bisclavret*. First, the traditional conflation of other-than-human animals into a single category is obviously distorted: humankind is not symmetrical with an oppositional term encompassing aardvarks, amoebas, and apes. Once the category “animal” is seen to be plural, its relations to the human redistribute in a superbly complex design. Not incompatibly with Derrida’s philosophical argument, post-Darwinian science has transformed our understanding of how mind and body are interrelated within and across species. The discovery of similarities is, of course, compatible with recognizing differences. To forget difference would be, as Derrida puts it, “plus bête que les bêtes,” more asinine than any beast.³⁹ His project consists “certainly not in effacing the limit, but in multiplying its figures, in complicating, thickening, delinearizing, folding, and dividing the line precisely by making it increase and multiply.”⁴⁰ This multiplication of difference generates a second critique of the radical cut between human and animal: it appears that *logos* is proper to the human, but one of Derrida’s core projects has been to show that language and meaning are not under the control of any speaker. Language passes through us; it is not an inborn trait of our species; it is a technology we learn awkwardly to adopt. Functions of *logos* that once appeared unique to humanity, such as signification, response, and deception, move and morph around in the heterogeneous expressions of the living. Deconstruction replaces the concept of the sign with that of the trace, always mobile, repeatable, erasing itself, belonging to no speaker. The trace, in referring to tracks as well as remainders, has resonance for Derrida with nonhuman modes of signification.⁴¹ And in a third critique, reconceiving the binary as a single field of interrelations entails reconceiving the ethical aspects of relationship.⁴² When animals graduate from irrelevance to the status of beings in relation to which the human recognizes itself, animals come inside the circle of ethical consideration, alongside those other others, strangers and slaves and Samaritans, who have preoccupied Christianity and humanism for so many centuries.

When Derrida turns to “poetry,” he takes his first example from the

opening chapters of the Book of Genesis, providing for my purposes a transition back to *Bisclavret*, in which these opening chapters of Genesis are an obscure point of reference. Derrida reads the creation story to pivot not around the moment in the Priestly text when God creates male and female in his “image and likeness,” but instead around the moment in the older Judean text when God watches Adam, newly created from slime, naming each animal:

And the Lord God said: It is not good for man to be alone; let us make him a help like unto himself.

And the Lord God having formed out of the ground all the beasts of the earth, and all the fowls of the air, brought them to Adam to see what he would call them: for whatsoever Adam called any living creature the same is its name.

And Adam called all the beasts by their names, and all the fowls of the air, and all the cattle of the field: but for Adam there was not found a helper like himself.⁴³

Patristic commentaries on Genesis find Adam’s radical difference from animals consolidated here as he takes dominion over them by speaking their names.⁴⁴ In Derrida’s reading, the scene is instead a challenge to conventional exegesis. Adam’s first act of *logos* recognizes differences among animals, and his first self-definition takes place in relation to these animals as he looks among them for a “help like unto himself.” The animals are Adam’s first experience of the Other; Eve will be the second: he names her “woman” in a similar act of recognition and self-differentiation.⁴⁵ To whom is Adam speaking as he names animals? In the Vulgate Bible God is watching “to see what he would call them”; for Derrida as for the medieval illuminators of this scene, the animals watch him as well, expressing their obedience in attentive gazes and postures. Figure 4, from a bestiary manuscript that dates from the decades in which Marie was writing, resembles numerous further depictions of the scene.⁴⁶ The animals’ responsive, submissive gaze complements God’s overseeing gaze; all acknowledge Adam’s naming. Part of the pressure Derrida puts on Adam’s *logos* emerges here: the animals’ gaze amounts to a “power of manifestation” or “language of mute traces” that brings them into relationship with Adam.⁴⁷ This trace of meaning in their gaze has ethical implications. Derrida’s recurring assertion “les animaux me regardent” means both “animals look at me” and “animals are my concern, animals have to do with me.” In the double meaning of “se regarder,”

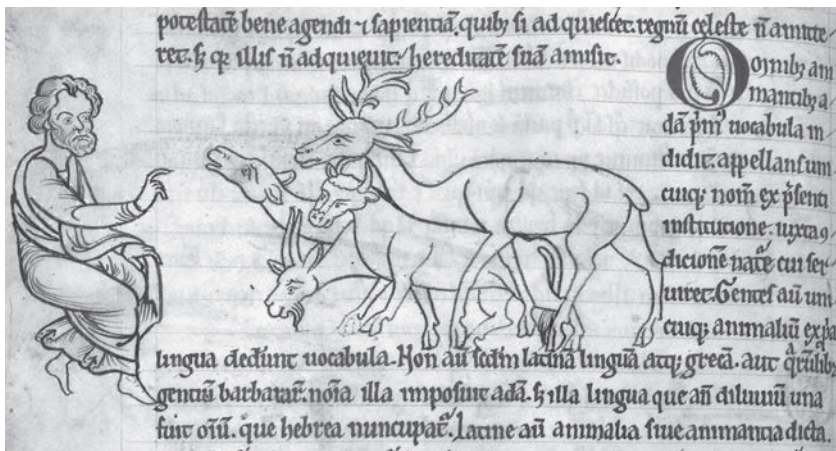


Figure 4. Adam names the animals in the second-family bestiary. © The British Library Board. London, British Library, MS Add. 11283, folio 11v.

to look at and to be of concern, Derrida begins his reply to Levinas on whether animals can solicit humans into an ethical relationship.⁴⁸

Derrida's critique of the longstanding rationalist distinction between human and animal can help us see how Marie's *Lay of Bisclavret* goes about interrogating distinction. Extensive scholarly work has investigated the many social, sexual, and political issues this lay engages: its juxtaposition of marital and feudal loyalties, its delineation of sovereignty and baronial rights. These discussions tend to understand the werewolf as a loss or a failure of the knight's identity. If the powerful tradition of the human/animal dichotomy can be pushed aside just enough to appreciate Marie's revisionist poetics of animality, the lay reveals in place of that dichotomy a fascinating array of contiguities, and these contiguities link up not just two but three creatures in the *bisclavret*.

What Is a Bisclavret?

The *Lay of Bisclavret* comments first of all on the diversity of pagan, Christian, and folk beliefs about werewolves.⁴⁹ Marie's *Lay of Bisclavret* evokes in particular two extremes of the full spectrum of werewolf accounts. In some of these, transformation into a lupine state is an unmitigated disaster, a manifestation of the human capacity for sinful and lawless behavior or a total evacuation of the human self. In other accounts, the change from human to wolf is a slighter affair of body-hopping—changing in outward form only, as if changing a garment. Early in its narration *Bisclavret* sets up these contradictory

models: the sinful descent from humanity into bestiality on the one hand and, on the other, the physical transformation of a man who retains his human mind within the beast's body. Given the well-documented influence of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in other lays attributed to Marie, it may be that Marie would have traced these two extremes of transformation to Ovid's Lycaon, so wolfish in his anthropophagy and his horrific hosting that becoming a wolf was the full expression of his inhuman depravity, and Ovid's Acteon, so differently the hapless victim of an unfortunate circumstance that trapped him in animal form unable to call off his own hounds and huntsmen.⁵⁰ Whatever Marie's full frame of reference for composing *Bisclavret* may have been, her lay only begins by representing these two contrasting kinds of metamorphosis. As the lay proceeds, her werewolf turns out not to be predicated on dichotomy, nor is his story designed to contrast bestial and human behaviors.

In the *Lay of Bisclavret*, a good and widely respected knight lives happily with his loving wife. Scholars note a whiff of Eden before the Fall in the knight's harmonious relation with his lord, "sun seinur" (*Bisclavret*, 19), and in the couple's mutual love—soon to be betrayed by the wife, as Eve betrayed Adam with her blandishments. The wife questions why the knight vanishes from home for three days each week. Insisting he should trust her, the wife eventually persuades him to reveal that he leaves his clothes outside a ruined chapel and becomes a werewolf. Frightened and repulsed, the wife tells a neighboring knight to take the clothes from their hiding place so that her husband will not be able to return from his next transformation. She marries this neighbor knight after her husband has been missing for a certain time. A year later, the king's hunters and dogs nearly kill the werewolf, but he kisses the mounted king's foot and leg to convey that he is humble and docile. The king keeps the werewolf at court until one day the wife's new husband pays the king a visit. The werewolf bites the new husband of his traitorous wife, and later bites off the wife's nose. Recognizing that the werewolf must have reason to attack this couple, the king has the wife interrogated and she reveals the whole adventure. The werewolf ignores his recovered clothing until given the privacy of the king's bedchamber; then he reclothes himself and becomes a man again. The wife and second husband are exiled, and many of the wife's female descendants are born without noses.

Marie uses two terms for "werewolf" as she titles the lay, Norman French *garvalf* and Breton *bisclavret*. Settling after ten lines on the Breton term for the remainder of the lay, she emphasizes her act of translation and the exotic material she is bringing into French and into the court of King Henry.⁵¹ Her

two terms can also suggest, as do the alternate titles proffered for *Chaitivel* and *Eliduc*, that the lay contains more than one interpretation of the werewolf. Marie indeed uses the terms *garvalf* and *bisclavret* quite differently, and their etymologies can reinforce her rejection of the French term in favor of the Breton. *Garvalf* is cognate with English *werewolf* and francique **wari-wulf*, a combination of the nouns *man* and *wolf* into man-wolf or in English more colloquially wolf-man.⁵² The *garvalf*, a double entity flipping back and forth between its manifestations, is the frame of reference against which the term *bisclavret* will emerge:

Jadis le poeit hum oïr
 E sovent suleit avenir,
 Hume plusur garval devindrent
 E es boscages meisun tindrent.
 Garvalf, ceo est beste salvage;
 Tant cum il est en cele rage
 Hummes devure, grant mal fait,
 Es granz forez converse e vait.
 Cest afere les ore ester:
 Del bisclavret vus voil cunter. (*Bisclavret*, 5–14)

Long ago one could hear and often it came to pass that men became *garvals* and dwelt in the woods. A *garvalf* is a savage beast; in his rage he devours men and does much harm; he lives and wanders in great forests. Now I am putting that subject aside: I want to tell you about the *bisclavret*.

The men who became *garvals*, whatever they may have been like while they were men, were the worst of beasts while transformed, just as natural wolves were thought to be the worst of beasts in medieval Europe, the most violent and anthropophagous, the most evil-intentioned.⁵³ Marie follows this characterization of the *garvalf* with a heavily marked transition: “now I am putting that subject aside: I want to tell you about the *bisclavret*.” Why would speaking about the *bisclavret* be distinct from speaking about *garvals*? In the elliptical mode characteristic of her lays, Marie’s transition suggests that the *bisclavret* is an entity worth close attention, but not one that will be easy to grasp. Linguists have parsed Marie’s Breton term *bisclavret* as “speaking wolf,” “rational wolf,” and (less grandly) “wolf in pants.”⁵⁴ Contention still

surrounds the Breton etymology, but if these proposals have some accuracy, they are true to the lay's representation of a creature that does not simply oppose man and wolf, but is rather more like an enhanced, unprecedented wolf.

A characteristic feature of lay and romance sustains the bisclavret's elusiveness: these genres tend to test their knights in magical or wondrous adventures. This knight's transformation into a werewolf is an unexplained, unmotivated marvel with important measuring and testing functions for the knight's merit, including the testing of his moral worth. Gervase of Tilbury's *Otia Imperialia* (ca. 1210), a vast collection of marvels dedicated to a grandson of England's Henry II, defines marvels: "We call those things marvels which are beyond our comprehension, even though they are natural: in fact the inability to explain why a thing is so constitutes a marvel."⁵⁵ Among Gervase's marvels of nature are several werewolf anecdotes. Marie too asserts the palpable reality of her wonders: "l'aventure k'avez oïe / Veraie fu, n'en dutez mie" ("the adventure you have just heard truly happened, do not doubt it": *Bisclavret*, 314–15). Her truth claim fulfills her definition of the Breton lay as a commemoration of past events.⁵⁶ At the same time, in the courtly mode of adventure, the marvels of Marie's *Lais* challenge noble personages to distinguish themselves from the ordinary.⁵⁷ The king in *Bisclavret* feels great fear on first encountering the werewolf but comes to value him highly. "He considered the beast a great marvel and held him very dear" ("A grant merveille l'ot tenu / E mut le tient a grant chierté": *Bisclavret*, 168–69). The betraying wife, in an indicting contrast, "heard this marvel and turned scarlet from fear; she was terrified of the whole adventure" ("oï cele merveille, / De poür fu tute vermeille; / De l'aventure s'esfrea": *Bisclavret*, 97–99). She compounds her dishonesty and disloyalty by rejecting the wondrous adventure of marriage to a werewolf.⁵⁸ More on her plight later.

The werewolf, then, is the knight's challenge to adventure. He must engage a mysterious mechanism that sweeps him away like the unmanned ship in Marie's *Lay of Guigemar* or the bronze horse in Chaucer's *Squire's Tale*. Pushing the concept of adventure to the limit, the knight of *Bisclavret* does not merely enter the wilderness to encounter the unknown, he merges with the unknown in becoming animal. The verbs for this metamorphosis are "perdre," to lose, and "devenir," to become: "she lost him for three days each week"; "his people often lost him"; "the knight who has been lost for a long time" on the one hand, and on the other "I become a werewolf"; "she told him what her husband became"; "we shall see if he becomes a man again."⁵⁹ In the interplay of losing

and becoming, the knight faces a uniquely organic challenge. He must face the unknown by becoming different from himself without losing himself.

Becoming is not yet being: the bisclavret is a creature in motion. As the plot of *Bisclavret* begins to unfold, the werewolf at first appears to keep his human and animal qualities neatly distinct. He is a much loved and respected man, yet he tells his wife that as a werewolf he goes into the “great forest” and “lives on prey and plunder” (“en cele grant forest me met . . . S’i vif de preie e de ravine”: *Bisclavret*, 64, 66), recalling the definitional garvalf who “devours men and does much harm; he lives and wanders in great forests” (“Hummes devure, grant mal fait, / Es granz forez converse e vait”: *Bisclavret*, 11–12). The knight identifies his clothing as the means of his transformation—he leaves his clothes hidden in a rock and dresses again to return home—implying that his transformation is a departure from whatever clothes signify: human modesty, social insertion, moral standards. This garvalf-like flipping from respected knight to inhuman ravager soon gives way to the opposite version of a werewolf in Marie’s milieu, a version just as bifurcated as the garvalf. On the king’s hunt we see a creature that appears to be entirely human within and bestial without.⁶⁰ What both these models share is a certain clarity that soon evanesces in more fascinating directions. The rapacious garvalf of the lay’s introduction splits man from wolf temporally, like Jekyll and Hyde: the two states succeed one another. On the king’s hunt, the werewolf appears instead to be split within himself between human mind and animal body—a human without language, or a wolf with a human mind. The lay’s audience may perceive him in the former mode, knowing he was earlier a man, and the king perceives him in the latter mode:

“Seignurs,” fet il, “avant venez!
 Ceste merveillë esgardez,
 Cum ceste beste s’humilie!
 Ele ad sen d’hume, merci crie.
 Chaciez mei tuz ces chiens ariere,
 Si gardez que hum ne la fiere!
 Ceste beste ad entente e sen.” (*Bisclavret*, 151–57)

“Lords,” he said, “come here! Look at this marvel, how this beast is humbling himself! He has the mind of a man, he cries for mercy. Call off those hounds for me, and let no man strike him! This beast has understanding and sense.”

The king finds the “mind of a man” in the beast when the beast makes gestures of submission, kissing the mounted king’s leg and foot to ask for protection (“quere merci”: *Bisclavret*, 146). The king’s perception fits the orthodox view that language, a deployment of signs that carry meaning by convention, is exclusive to humanity. In the king’s terms of perception, the man trapped inside the wolf is fortunate to live in what Jacques Le Goff has termed “a culture of gesture,” that is, of ceremonial and ritual expression in which kisses, clasped hands, prostration, and even standing and sitting can convey meaning as effectively as words.⁶¹

The narrative, however, sets in motion a series of equivocations around both the werewolf’s way of life and the king’s perception of his mind. This werewolf confesses no anthropophagy to his wife, nor is his living “on prey and plunder” distinctively animal: the king’s hunting party parallels that way of life in graphic detail. The werewolf is nearly torn to bits by the king’s huntsmen and hunting dogs. Hunting in the woods for prey is a doubled site of animal-human contact. Werewolves hunt for prey and so do hunting parties: “both the huntsmen and the dogs chased him all day, until they were just about to take him and tear him apart.” (“A lui cururent tute jur / E li chien e li veneür, / Tant que pur poi ne l’eurent pris / E tut deciré e maumis”: *Bisclavret*, 141–44). Is the implication that the partnership of man and dog in hunting is not so very different from the co-presence of man and wolf hunting together in the werewolf? At the least, the werewolf’s forest encounter with huntsmen and dogs bent together on killing their prey makes his own hunting unexceptional.

In the king’s assessment, the werewolf’s sign-making could only spring from a man’s mind deploying the *logos* that beasts lack. The king is in good company: Derrida notes that “logocentrism is first of all a thesis regarding the animal, the animal deprived of the *logos*, deprived of the *can-have-the-logos*: this is the thesis, position, or presupposition maintained from Aristotle to Heidegger, from Descartes to Kant, Levinas, and Lacan.”⁶² To the king it seems the werewolf has Adam’s mind if not, for the moment, Adam’s tongue. The werewolf’s mute plea for mercy, however, has two equally plausible analogues. Surrounded as he is by hunting dogs, the cross-species template for his wolfish kisses might resonate as strongly with the animal as with the human. That is, it seems as plausible that one of the king’s dogs might lick his foot as that one of his huntsmen might kiss it. To the extent that the werewolf’s gestures recall a dog’s, they are not evidently due to the “mind of a man.”⁶³ The lay’s narration is in the mode of wonder and marvel, and in just that mode

some kind of nonhuman *logos* emerges as a possibility. “It would not be a matter of ‘giving speech back’ to animals,” Derrida hazards, “but perhaps of acceding to a thinking, however fabulous and chimerical it might be, that thinks the absence of the name and of the word otherwise, and as something other than a privation.”⁶⁴ A beast’s resourcefulness could give rise to the bisclavret’s eloquent foot-kissing as plausibly as could the “mind of a man.”

The lay’s central term *bisclavret* is similarly indeterminate, designating both the quadrupedal and the bipedal knight. To his wife, the knight confesses, “Lady, I become a bisclavret . . . If I were to lose my clothes . . . I’d stay a bisclavret forever” (“Dame, jeo devien bisclavret. . . si jes [= mes dras] eüsse perduz . . . bisclavret sereie a tuz jurs”: *Bisclavret*, 63, 73, 75). The same Breton word also designates the knight when he is in human form. The two uses, as common noun for the wolfish creature and proper noun for the human creature, alternate throughout the lay. “Li bisclavret” is chased through the woods, “li bisclavret” follows the king home, “li bisclavret” attacks the new husband (*Bisclavret*, 138, 162, 197). Threaded through these events, “so Bisclavret was betrayed, ruined by his own wife,” until a year later “Bisclavret saw her coming” and attacked her; then the wife confesses that “she was quite convinced that the beast was Bisclavret” (*Bisclavret*, 125, 231, 273–74). In the last of these lines it is especially clear that the common and proper noun designate both of the knight’s manifestations. “Bisclavret” is both an individual’s proper name and the generalized noun for something like a species. The two designations interrupt one another rather than ordering themselves in a temporal sequence. They are equivalent representations of the creature. One might rationalize that the knight’s own name conjured his capacity to transform, or conversely that his capacity has generated his name despite the secrecy of his transformations, but the lay endorses neither sequence. In my discussion below I have found it difficult to avoid using “the bisclavret” for his wolfish form and “Bisclavret” for his human form—to do otherwise seems willfully confusing—and yet it would be more accurate to the lay’s insistence on their inseparability to use “li bisclavret” for the whole tangled phenomenon.

The Bisclavret’s Domestication

The king ends his hunt by responding to the bisclavret’s wordless supplication: “I will give my peace to the beast and hunt no more today” (“A la beste durrai ma pes, / Kar jeo ne chacerai hui mes”: *Bisclavret*, 159–60). This new relationship between the bisclavret and the king partly reconstructs a relationship that preceded Bisclavret’s wife’s betrayal. As the lay opens, Bisclavret

Beaus chevaliers e bons esteit
 E noblement se cunteneit.
 De sun seinur esteit privez
 E de tuz ses veisins amez. (*Bisclavret*, 17–20)

was a good and handsome knight who conducted himself nobly. He was an intimate of his lord and was loved by all his neighbors.

The later relationship of bisclavret and king replays this earlier relationship with a strange distortion. On the one hand, the bisclavret is treated like an animal: the king instructs his courtiers that no one may strike him and that he must be fed and watered well (*Bisclavret*, 170–75). The king makes no further effort to hear from that “mind of a man” he perceived on his hunt. On the other hand, the relationship is suffused with affections and virtues reminiscent of Bisclavret’s earlier intimacy with his lord and his neighbors. The bisclavret sleeps near the king, he clearly loves the king (“bien s’aparceit que il l’amout”: *Bisclavret*, 184), and he conducts himself impeccably: “never did he wish to do any wrong” (“unques ne volt a rien mesfeire”: *Bisclavret*, 180). The king and his household hold the bisclavret dear (“chier,” “a grant chierté”) because he is so “francs e deboneire,” terms appropriate to nobility with meanings ranging around generosity, gentility, openness, and kindness (*Bisclavret*, 169, 178–79). The conflicting aspects of the bisclavret’s life in court, still fed and watered and subject to discipline like an animal but also loved and well-behaved, introduce a third species into the commingled presence of wolf and knight in the bisclavret. The werewolf story is becoming also a dog story.

Specifically, when the bisclavret attacks the betraying wife with his avenging bite, the plot resembles Classical and medieval anecdotes of avenging dogs such as the Dog of Antioch whose widely circulated story appears in Ambrose of Milan’s hexameral commentary on Genesis, Gerald of Wales’s *Journey Through Wales*, and many English bestiaries.⁶⁵ This dog reveals the solution to a crime that only he has witnessed. His master having been murdered by a treacherous servant, the dog stands watch by the corpse as a crowd of onlookers gathers—including the murderer, who is passing himself off as an innocent bystander. Quoting again from a twelfth-century English bestiary manuscript, when the dog saw the murderer in the crowd, he

took up the arms of revenge . . . and seized [the murderer] alone among all the others and did not let him go. Then [the murderer] was thrown

into confusion, because he could by no objection escape such plain proof of his deed . . . and he could no longer deny the crime. And what was harder, he suffered punishment (“ultionem perpressus est”) because he could not present a defense for himself.⁶⁶

The parallels to the *Lay of Bisclavret* are several: Bisclavret has lost his human form (not his life altogether) through betrayal by a trusted intimate, and only he can reveal who the traitor is. His generally good behavior leads the onlookers to understand that there is a reason for his attack, and further interrogation—possibly interrogation under torture in the bestiary as well as in the lay—confirms the accusation.⁶⁷ As the werewolf’s attack borrows from a dog’s targeted revenge, the lay complicates the king’s hypothesis that the werewolf has the “mind of a man” (“sen d’hume”: *Bisclavret*, 154). Ambrose observes and the bestiaries repeat that “dogs have often been the means of convicting people accused of homicide by showing clear evidence of the crime committed. Reliance is made in many cases on their mute testimony.”⁶⁸

Thus the lay’s moral concerns come to resolution in a doubly cross-species context. The first of these arises from a fundamental difference between the Dog of Antioch story and the *Lay of Bisclavret*: the bisclavret is *at the same time* the doglike avenger and the human victim of betrayal. A man has vanished through his wife’s treachery, and only the mute testimony of a beast can reveal the crime. The bisclavret is master and dog of Antioch in one. Building a dog story into her werewolf story, Marie unclarifies whether the bisclavret’s bites express human *logos* or rather the storied loyalty of dogs. Or both? And second, the bisclavret is wolf and dog in one—a redoubled conflation of beings. Wolf-into-dog stages another morally charged story within the bisclavret: the story of wolf becoming dog. By far the most thorough domestication in human history, *Canis lupus lupus* becoming *Canis lupus familiaris* is a wonder of nature even from a sober biological perspective: the universally feared, man-killing, herd-raiding predator becomes the most warmly trusted defender of herds and men *against* wolves and other dangers. The lay has already briefly dramatized this profound change when the king’s hunting dogs nearly kill what appears to be a wolf.

Both dog stories embedded in *Bisclavret*—the loyal avenging dog and the trustworthy dog descended from the predatory wolf—might seem to accrue virtue to the complex entity called bisclavret. The moral valence of a transition from wolf to dog is completely clear, for example, in the Irish hagiography of Chapter 1 when saints Fintán, Cainnech, and Fínán Cam command

wolves to give up killing cattle and guard cattle instead. These saints invoke divine authority to control a wolf as they would control a sinner, making the wolf behave “in humility and penance” by taking on the duties of a herding dog.⁶⁹ The reformation of these wolves is limpidly miraculous. In contrast, the bisclavret’s transformation is an inexplicable wonder, not a miracle.⁷⁰ It might be tempting, as the bisclavret shifts from wolflike to doglike, to understand his third aspect to be saintlike. By analogy with so many saintly wolf wranglers, the knight’s success in his adventure would then be in triumphing over his wolfishness in order to deserve his return to human form. The lay, however, does not endorse a reassuring moral superiority of man to beast. In the lay’s closing evocations of Genesis, the bisclavret’s shame when he returns to human form marks him, and his bite marks his wife, as two fallen creatures.

Whose Vengeance, Whose Shame?

The bisclavret’s avenging bites do not distinguish the bestial from the manly. The king, rather missing the boat, takes the bites to be purely bestial when he threatens the bisclavret with a stick in order to control him: “He would have done great damage if the king had not called him off, and threatened him with a stick” (“Ja li eüst mut grant leid fait, / Ne fust li reis ki l’apela, / D’une verge le manaça”: *Bisclavret*, 200–202). But the king’s wise advisor and the household concur that the bites are meaningful and motivated—without concurring that therefore the bisclavret must be a man. Of the attack on the wife’s new husband,

Ceo dient tuit par la meisun
K’il nel fet mie sanz reisun:
Mesfait li ad, coment que seit,
Kar volentiers se vengereit. (*Bisclavret*, 207–10)

everyone all through the household said that he [the bisclavret] would not have done this without a reason. He [the new husband] had done him a wrong, whatever it was, such that he [the bisclavret] would want to avenge himself.

Everyone agrees that “se venger,” to revenge oneself, explains the bisclavret’s bites. Like the crowd of onlookers in Antioch, the king’s household interprets the bites in the context of the bisclavret’s behavior as a whole: says the king’s advisor, all of us know this beast very well and never before has he acted

feloniously (“felunie ne mustra”: *Bisclavret*, 246). Similarly violent and similarly meaningful is the bisclavret’s attack on his wife:

Vers li curut cum enragiez.
 Oiez cum il est bien vengiez:
 Le neis li esracha del vis!
 Que li peüst il faire pis? (*Bisclavret*, 233–36)

He ran toward her in a rage. Hear how well he avenged himself: he tore her nose off her face! What worse thing could he have done to her?

The rhyming pair “enragiez/vengiez” (enraged/avenged), together with the wise man’s legal term “felunie,” embed the attack in a judicial context and initiate a judicial process, but adjudication does not entail the knight’s return from bestiality to manhood. The husband’s vengeance and the anthropophagy of werewolves are entangled phenomena. Whether the bisclavret swallows that nose or spits it out, tearing it off with his teeth evokes feeding all too vividly. This horrific recollection of the garvalf’s anthropophagy underlies the positive reference to a more praiseworthy bite, that of a dog avenging a crime. As the wise man and the king’s household concur that the bites respond to a crime and provide mute testimony for a judicial investigation, the bisclavret moves inside the ethical circle: retributive justice is no longer an exclusively human province.

Scholars have endorsed the bisclavret’s vengeance in entirely human terms, associating it with the legal disfiguration of adulterers, the castration of a would-be castrator, and “the rightful human fury of a husband who has been seriously wronged.”⁷¹ I can agree that the bisclavret’s bites take vengeance, but nowhere does the text specify that his vengeance is rightful or virtuous.⁷² The narration does represent the vengeance as balancing the scales between husband and wife: the wife’s disfiguration brings her and her husband into a new kind of parity. Scholars have tended to see this new parity as a final opposition between beast and human: the nose bite “marks her as a beast”; she “turns out to be the real werewolf”; she “has become the sole vicious beast” of the narrative.⁷³ However, to argue that the nose bite bestializes the wife in an evidently negative dehumanizing sense runs counter to the lay’s poetic imagining of animality’s dispersed potential for both violence and virtue. The superbly subtle trans-animality of the bisclavret urges a new interpretation of the wife’s disfigurement. Certainly Levinas and Heidegger, as discussed above, would

interpret the nose bite in terms of animal lack: for them, the wife's missing nose would express her subhumanity, as do the ape's missing hand and the dog's missing face. Given, however, the lay's persistent premise that engaging with beasts is far from negative, the nose bite comes into better coherence with the lay as a whole if we see it not as a mark of "animal lack" but of "human lack" instead—a mark of sin and the Fall.

For behold, Bisclavret's avenging bite gets a mysterious endorsement. It extends to some of the wife's female descendants. The noseless wife condemned to birth noseless daughters replays God's sentence on Eve that she and her female descendants will bring forth their children in sorrow, suffering physically for her sin. This resonance with Genesis does not align the bisclavret with God: like the dog of Antioch, the bisclavret is an injured party seeking redress, not a divine judge reproaching Adam and Eve for the original sin. Instead, sin marks both the bisclavret and his wife—she in the disfiguring bite, and he as he returns in shame to human form. The bisclavret's shame when presented with his clothing again evokes Genesis, counterbalancing the lay's evocation of Eve's sin. The bisclavret's relation to Adam is strengthened by Marie's choice, out of all the lore about how men change to werewolves, of clothing alone as the necessary mechanism for change. No magic rings, no potions or chants or gestures, no hair of wolf, not even the liminal space of the deserted chapel is necessary for this werewolf's transformations—only the clothing.⁷⁴ "Sire," the advisor explains to the king,

"Ne savez mie que ceo munte:
Mut durement en ad grant hunte!
En tes chambres le fai mener
E la despoille od lui porter;
Une grant piece l'i laissons.
S'il devient hum, bien le verums." (*Bisclavret*, 287–92)

"You don't understand what this means: he is feeling deeply a great shame about this. Have him led to your chambers and have the clothing taken with him. We'll leave him there for a good while. Then we shall see whether he becomes a man."

Derrida remarks in his revisionary assessment of Genesis that animals are generally imagined as "being naked without knowing it. Not being naked therefore, not having knowledge of their nudity, in short, without consciousness of

good and evil.”⁷⁵ Adam and Eve feel shame after they have stolen the knowledge of good and evil which other animals do not share. This shame at their sinfulness informs their shame at their nakedness. As the bisclavret’s shame recalls Adam’s, it bends the wife’s faultiness toward parity with her husband’s. In their human condition both of them are fleshly and faulty descendants of Adam and Eve.

Derrida introduces animals into the dynamic of knowledge and shame by rupturing the chronology of Genesis to locate the first evocation of shame in the scene of Adam naming the animals. Under the eye of the watching animals, Derrida imagines, Adam or any son of Adam might see that he is “in truth naked, in front of the insistent gaze of the animal, a benevolent or pitiless gaze, surprised or cognizant.”⁷⁶ Many of the bestiaries’ illustrators similarly conflate Adam’s naming with postlapsarian modesty, showing him clothed as he names, despite the anachronism of not showing him naked. In the illustration of Adam’s naming from MS Additional 11283 (Figure 4), the clothed and seated Adam is given a status distinct from that of the naked beasts, who do not know they are naked, since they never gain knowledge of good and evil. This image and many like it in other bestiary manuscripts could illustrate Derrida’s point that Adam has two differences from animals: his dominion is in paradoxical opposition to his sinfulness, so that his mastery is “at one and the same time *unconditional* [Godlike] and *sacrificial* [marked by sin, subject to numberless propitiations to God].”⁷⁷ Reflecting this compromised dominion, Adam’s clothing presents him as both the perfect man, robed in Godlike dignity, and the fallen man, clothed in order to cover his nakedness.

The bestiary illustration’s doubled time, simultaneously before and after shame, can illustrate as well the bisclavret’s recovery of human form through clothing himself. For many readers, he ascends here to the hard-won superiority of human status. I see also a dissonant implication in which the odd spectacle of a werewolf expressing shame when presented with clothing represents man’s fallen condition—his knowledge of good and evil, his sinfulness. The bisclavret inflicts a mark of shame on his wife, but shame also marks him as he leaves his animal body to take a man’s naked form. Here it is not the other animals but their fallen human counterparts who exist in lack.

Moral self-assertion is just one aspect of the adventure of becoming a werewolf. The bisclavret’s shame is the last in a substantial sequence of equivalences, overlaps, and parallels that commingle animal with human and species with species. In the course of Bisclavret’s adventure, his body shifts from human to lupine, his mind appears human, then canine, his gestures slide

from lupine to human to canine. As he hunts, the bisclavret adumbrates in one body the hunters and dogs who capture him; as he accuses his wife and her husband, he is dog and murdered master in one. His story concerns both men changed into wolves and wolves domesticated into dogs; his revenge is indistinguishably bestial and chivalric. The wolf's bite, the dog's revenge, and the man's shame are bound up in the same creature. Although his story ends with apparent stasis in manhood, the simultaneity of animal states within the bisclavret rejects the familiar orthodoxy that humans have an animal "part" or "side" to control. In place of that dichotomy, Bisclavret's adventure offers a densely layered creature that resists compartmentalization. Derrida challenges philosophers, whose stock in trade is making clear distinctions, to rethink what the human-animal boundary "becomes once it is abyssal, once the frontier no longer forms a single indivisible line but more than one internally divided line; once, as a result, it can no longer be traced, objectified, or counted as single and indivisible."⁷⁸ Moving in and out of philosophy's great shadow, Marie's fables and lays undertake just such a rethinking.

Bisclavret and the Bestiaries

The *Lay of Bisclavret* draws on a dog story such as the story of the Dog of Antioch, which was widely copied in the English bestiary manuscripts. Perhaps *Bisclavret* took inspiration as well from twelfth-century bestiaries' adjoining entries on Wolf and Dog, in which the two species are described as intimate enemies. In the group of bestiaries to be considered in Chapter 3, wolves and dogs are so close as to be capable of mating, producing offspring called *licisci*, "born from wolves and dogs when by chance they interbreed."⁷⁹ Close as they are in their bodily characteristics, Wolf and Dog are enemies through their opposite relations to Man. Dogs "stand in defense of their masters to the death; they happily run with the master in the hunt; they even guard their master's dead body and do not leave it. Finally, it is in the nature of dogs not to be able to exist without people."⁸⁰ Wolves, in contrast, are such implacable killers that the mere sight of a wolf takes away one's ability to speak; their malevolence makes them most like "the devil, who always looks malignly at the human race, and constantly circles the sheepfolds of the Church's faithful in order to afflict and destroy their souls."⁸¹ The opposed orientations of wolf and dog toward man make them implacable adversaries: shepherd dogs "by vigilance guard the sheep folds from the attacks of wolves," while the wolf, in a deceptive imitation of his enemy, "like a tame dog goes back and forth at the sheepfold."⁸² Here the bestiaries condemn species confusion and value

species distinction as they derive an elaborate grammar of being from God's creative act. Marie's destabilization of species and her exploration of empowering change contrasts with the bestiaries' project. Still, Marie's work shares enough detail with the bestiaries' juxtaposition of wolf, dog, and man that it seems possible she consulted a bestiary manuscript.

In a further resonance with *Bisclavret*, the bestiaries to be considered in Chapter 3 place their wolf and dog entries just before their account of Adam naming the animals. The bestiaries' cluster of wolf, dog, and Adam aligns suggestively with the bisclavret's shifting among wolf, dog, and man amid faint echoes of Eden before and after the Fall. The lay's interest in naming the werewolf (garvalf, the bisclavret, Bisclavret) may have some relation to the bestiaries' interest in species names and in the scene of Adam's naming. The bestiaries also share the lay's interest in how the human takes shape in relation to other creatures: it is often forgotten that the bestiaries' final entry is typically reserved for Man. *Bisclavret*'s poetic adventurousness distinguishes it, however, from the commitment to system and stability that characterizes the bestiaries. *Bisclavret* explores cross-species contact as an ineffable mechanism for self-testing and self-discovery. The bestiaries instead explore species difference and contact as a universal design of wondrous subtlety, a stimulus to reflection and study rather than adventure.

Chapter 3

A Bestiary's Taxonomy of Creatures

There is an animal that in Latin is called the goat (*capra*), because it seeks (*capit*) harsh places; some call them *caprea*, from “noisy” (*crepita*). These are the wild *caprea* that the Greeks call *dorcas*, because they have very sharp vision. They live in the high mountains, and they know from far off that people are approaching, whether they be hunters or travelers. Thus the Lord Jesus Christ loves the high mountains, that is, the prophets and apostles, as it is said in the Song of Songs, *Behold, my kinsman, like a goat, cometh leaping upon the mountains, skipping over the hills* (Sg 2:8), and like the goat, he feeds in the valleys.

—Second-Family Bestiary, MS Additional 11283

The Goat, a noisy wild beast that resembles Jesus in its acute sight and its descent from mountains to valleys, introduces the interpretive challenges that certain books of beasts, called second-family bestiaries, offered their readers and listeners.¹ The sources for these bestiaries are disparate, and it can seem that no governing principle was shaping the natural lore they drew from Classical writers, including Aristotle (through intermediaries) on the one hand, and on the other, the mystical and didactic readings of nature they adapted from *Physiologus* and Ambrose's *Hexameron*. A further second-family source, Isidore's *Etymologies*, inspired their organization of entries on more than a hundred animals into larger groups and subgroups on wild beasts, tamed and unthreatening animals, birds, fish, serpents, and humans. The bestiaries' collocations were well received. Second-family manuscripts were the most favored and widely circulated group of bestiaries, moving over the twelfth and thirteenth centuries outward from monastic milieus to sermons for laypeople, educational settings, and

aristocratic courts.² About fifty manuscripts survive, many of them extensively illuminated.³ Continuing a degree of their medieval popularity, several second-family bestiaries have seen print in facing-page format and in translation.⁴

We might solve the puzzle of their disparate materials by proposing that the second-family bestiaries are no more than compendia of useful material for diverse purposes. Scholars are increasingly aware, however, that medieval creativity should not be equated with original composition: literary forms such as the translation and the compendium can be interpretive works that communicate a new vision of their materials. Returning to the question of purpose, scholars have tended to pose it in dichotomous terms, assuming that the preoccupation with animal characteristics and the preoccupation with figurative meaning are competing interests in the bestiaries. Thus modified, the question becomes, is the primary purpose of the bestiaries to preserve animal knowledge, or to provide religious and moral instruction? Most scholars see the latter purpose as the organizing or even the exclusive motivation in the bestiaries. For Debra Hassig, although the second-family bestiaries show “an interest in listing and defining the creatures,” their moralizations put them outside the bounds of medieval scientific thought: even in the later thirteenth-century bestiaries, “a scientific function . . . is belied by the fact that the traditional bestiary moralizations were not excised.”⁵ Ron Baxter concludes that the bestiaries are “informed by a motive of Christian didacticism. . . . We are not in any sense dealing with zoology.”⁶ In the extreme version of this view, the bestiaries’ animals are no more than attractive packaging for the moralizations: according to Michel Zink, “in medieval writing the animal, like the rest of creation, is unworthy of attention except insofar as it is a bearer of meaning. The elucidation of this meaning is the whole purpose of the bestiaries.”⁷

On the other side of this dichotomy between the physical animal and moral instruction, zoologists Wilma George and Brunsdon Yapp have sided with T. H. White’s conclusion that the second-family bestiary is “a serious work of natural history.”⁸ George and Yapp have argued for the bestiaries’ substantial preservation of field knowledge. They term the bestiaries “textbooks” of natural history, “not, as they are generally held to be, merely compendia of old wives’ tales and religious symbolism, amusing or boring according to your taste, but documents that are important for any serious history of medieval science.”⁹ Similarly, Jacques Voisenet approves the bestiaries’ gradual rejection of “that signifying dross that the *Physiologus* had imposed on animals.”¹⁰ For the sharpest defenders of the bestiaries’ interest in nature, religious commentary is secondary to the focus on animals—just so much pious packaging.

Animal characteristics and spiritual meanings need not be seen as competing interests in the second-family bestiaries. The manuscripts do not warn their readers against taking an interest in nature, nor do they declare nature to be simply an agglomeration of spiritual signs. Medieval concepts of "nature" and "science" link physical to metaphysical thought: James Weisheipl points out that "if we wish to appreciate what the word 'nature' meant during the Middle Ages, we must put aside for the moment any mechanistic notions we have about the universe. We must go back to a richer philosophical language, one teeming with 'principles,' 'causes,' and ultimate goals. This philosophical language is difficult for us moderns to grasp, precisely because it is non-mechanistic and apparently foreign to our 'scientific' minds".¹¹ This crucial point is easy to miss because earlier forms of the bestiary in both Latin and the vernaculars follow their dominant source, *Physiologus*, in asserting that animals are to be taken semiotically, as signs for spiritual truths rather than as natural creatures.¹² In contrast, second-family manuscripts articulate a double purpose that investigates both physical and spiritual causes.¹³ Additional 11283 offers, for example, two explanations for why larger fish eat smaller ones: it may be that they do so out of their own natural greediness, "or else because they are provided for men's use, and made into a sign, so that we would see in them the sins of our ways and avoid their examples" ("aut quia ad usum hominum dati sunt, in signum quoque facti sunt, ut in his nostrorum morum vitia videremus et eorum caveremus exempla": *MBB*, 210). This double hypothesis characterizes the second-family bestiaries' refusal to choose between material and spiritual knowledge. Their most common designation in booklists is *Liber de natura* (or *naturis*) *bestiarum*. Two manuscripts are headed "Here begins a treatise on the names of beasts and their nature" ("Hic incipit tractatus de nominibus bestiarum et earum natura," Cambridge, St. John's College MS C 12: *MBB*, 32–33) and "Here begins a bestiary concerning the natures of animals, and the first concerning the lion" ("Incipit bestiarius de naturis animalium et primo de leone," Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 88A: *MBB*, 33). The heading "de naturis bestiarum" encompasses in "natura" both the natural world and its assigned meanings.

The bestiaries' dual "natura" offers a vision of creation that is not purely concerned with moral and religious teaching. Scholars have sometimes associated the bestiaries with philosophical writings on the divine plan of creation by Hugh of St. Victor and the School of Chartres.¹⁴ In association with high philosophy, however, the bestiaries appear clumsy and earthbound, their moralizations yielding again and again to their fascination with the raven's croaking

voice, the puppy's medicinal tongue, and the lion's fear of white roosters. The second-family bestiaries are best understood neither to be focusing primarily on animal behaviors, nor to be using animals primarily as signs for spiritual meanings. Their concerns are better encompassed by thinking of their project as taxonomic. They work out a world view by working out a classification of the world's creatures in all their dimensions—physical, moral, and spiritual. Scholarship on these bestiaries occasionally mentions taxonomy, but classificatory thought has not been considered as their unifying principle.¹⁵ Perhaps because they do not evidence our contemporary sense that taxonomy is based solely on physical information, the second-family bestiaries' interest in classification has seemed either intermittent or without rigor.¹⁶ Pondering the organization of the creatures, however, predates its modern isolation from moral thought and its modern elaboration as an academic specialty. Aristotle classified the animals he described, and the biblical Genesis sketches a classification as well. It was not taxonomic thought but the field of academic taxonomy that emerged around the time of Linnaeus.¹⁷

Taxonomy offers an attractive way into the second-family bestiaries' project because it does away with the apparent dichotomy between each animal and its interpretations. Instead, the bestiaries interrelate these apparently dichotomous elements as they place each creature in relation to the others. The second-family bestiaries' physical, moral, and spiritual contents all contribute to a single discourse "on the natures of animals."

What Is Taxonomy?

One great employment of man, at the beginning of the world, must have been to examine created objects, and to impose on all the species names according to their kinds.

—Carolus Linnaeus, *The Animal Kingdom, or Zoological System*

Adam was the first to give names to all the animals, calling each one a name from its effective disposition, according to the condition of nature to which it was subject.

—Second-Family Bestiary MS Additional 11283 (*MBB*, 150)

The most familiar meaning of taxonomy is the classification of living things "according to their kinds," as Linnaeus writes, sorting out their differences

and similarities.¹⁸ But inherent in classification must be some theory of *how* to classify, so that a standard definition of taxonomy becomes “the theoretical study of classification, including its bases, principles, procedures, and rules.”¹⁹ Overt or implicit theorization is inherent to taxonomy because nature offers no single, unchallenged ground on which to classify its inconceivable complexity. Every natural taxonomy is embedded in human history: the available data, paradigms, beliefs, and strategies condition the possibilities for classification.²⁰ When Linnaeus put humans in an order of “primates” that included apes and monkeys, he was moving against the contemporary scholastic conviction that humans were profoundly different from all other animals.²¹ Today his classifying of humans with apes is less surprising than it was in 1758, and his term “primates” (“first”) seems comically apologetic for having done so. Harriet Ritvo demonstrates that even in the wake of Darwin, animal classification was profoundly affected by social agendas and vernacular perceptions. Some of these perceptions dated back to the medieval bestiaries: resistance to classifying whales outside fishes and bats outside birds remained strong into the later nineteenth century.²²

Taxonomy, in short, is post-natural. In John Dupré’s concise formulation, “species are not evolutionary units but merely classificatory units.”²³ For example, over the past few years information derived from DNA analysis has challenged the exclusion of chimpanzees from the genus *Homo*. Although chimpanzees are currently classified in the genus *Pan*, their DNA shows more recent divergence from humans, at 5 to 6 million years, than divergences admitted in other genera. Derek Wildman, Morris Goodman, and their associates argue that the principle of “most recent common ancestor” should determine the boundaries of each genus, now that DNA analysis can reveal this information.²⁴ Opponents of enlarging genus *Homo* argue that other criteria, including brain size and locomotion, should be weighed against the DNA evidence, so that chimpanzees should remain in genus *Pan*.²⁵ Without necessarily disagreeing on the available data, scholars disagree on which data count most in classifying chimpanzees. Genus *Pan* and genus *Homo* do not exist in nature, but in observation and analysis of nature.

Taxonomies are not unique to one expertise or social group. Fragmentary “folk” or “vernacular” taxonomies informed medieval hunting treatises and horse breeding, and still govern racehorse and kennel club registries today. There is a broad consensus among scholars that “folk taxonomies are as legitimate, and can be interpreted as realistically, as scientific taxonomies.”²⁶ All share some degree of specialized knowledge and some degree of social

engagement. Where do the second-family bestiaries fall in the spectrum from learned to popular? They do not match the intellectual standard of twelfth-century writing on creation by Adelard of Bath and Bernardus Sylvestris.²⁷ They have filiations with Biblical exegesis, and they give more place to religious instruction than the thirteenth-century encyclopedias of Vincent of Beauvais and Bartholomaeus Anglicus.²⁸ The bestiaries, however, invoke a broader, less learned audience than these works. They address, at various points, parents, wives, men of God, women, children, and all Christians.²⁹ On the one hand, this inscribed audience, though perhaps broader than their historical audience of direct readers and listeners, suggests that the bestiaries could be considered “folk” taxonomies; on the other hand, the bestiaries’ sources, Latinity, and ambitious scope associate them with the twelfth and thirteenth century’s most learned writing. Near the margins of high learning, then, the second-family bestiaries classify the animal realm, unfolding a theory of natural order that begins in Genesis and grows more complex as the bestiaries take Classical writing and Christian teaching into account.

Whereas taxonomies of the Enlightenment began to restrict their scope to physical traits alone, the bestiaries and all premodern writing on nature embraced an array of classifications by habitat, physical appearance, usefulness, size, and good and evil natures: Aristotle, attentive as he was to physical traits, called the lion “noble and brave and high-bred,” the fox “mischievous and wicked,” and snakes “mean and scheming.”³⁰ To a limited extent, the creatures of second-family bestiaries are organized into differing groups, in designs that resemble the “trees” and “tables” of later taxonomies. But with so many criteria of differentiation in play, these patterns cannot be consistently followed. For example, adjacent entries on *Asinus* and *Onager* describe the domestic and wild asses; the former belongs to a wider class called *iumenta* (tame beasts of burden) and the latter to a different wider class called *quadrupedia* (animals that are wild but not ferocious). Rather than being separated by the class criterion (tame versus wild), *Asinus* and *Onager* are adjacent based on a different criterion, their physical similarity.

A helpful analogy for premodern taxonomies is Jorge Luis Borges’s “Analytical Language of John Wilkins.” Among several systems that attempt to account for all that exists, Borges invents “a certain Chinese encyclopedia” where “it is written that animals are divided into (a) those that belong to the Emperor, (b) embalmed ones, (c) those that are trained, (d) suckling pigs, (e) mermaids, (f) fabulous ones, (g) stray dogs, (h) those that are included in this classification, (i) those that tremble as if they were mad, (j) innumerable ones,

(k) those drawn with a very fine camel's hair brush, (l) others, (m) those that have just broken a flower vase, and (n) those that resemble flies from a distance."³¹ The encyclopedia's "Chinese" origin suggests that, strange as it is, it is not unsystematic or benighted. Indeed Borges's point about the encyclopedia and his other invented taxonomies is that "there is no classification of the universe that is not arbitrary and conjectural. The reason is very simple: we do not know what the universe is. . . . We must conjecture the words, the definitions, the etymologies, the synonymies of God's secret dictionary."³² Within his imagined Chinese culture, a category for "those that have just broken a flower vase" must somehow make sense. Similarly, there is a rationale in the second-family bestiaries for classifying whales among the fishes and bats among the birds, but it is not a rationale that survives in scientific taxonomies today.

Borges's encyclopedia helps introduce the bestiaries in another way as well: like the bestiaries, it embraces modes of classification that are inequivalent with one another. The bestiaries treat real and mythical creatures together (Elephant next to Griffin and Ape next to Bonnacon), just as Borges's suckling pig appears next to mermaids. Is neither creature fabulous, or is the following category, "fabulous ones," somehow closed to the fabulous mermaids? Some categories in Borges's encyclopedia contain a single species, others more than one, and others appear to overlap. The bestiaries encompass an entry on Serpents as well as others on Viper and Asp. The Crocodile appears twice, with both the beasts and the fishes, reflecting its wild ferocity as well as its aquatic habitat. Other categories in Borges's encyclopedia are based on animals' relations to humans: "trained," "stray," and "owned by the Emperor." John Hollander writes of the "Chinese encyclopedia" what today's readers might say of the bestiary: "each accruing category seems to mock the very mode of the preceding ones."³³

In his encyclopedia's incommensurate classifications, Borges represents the occulted strangeness of an alien taxonomy, but also the universal problem of what should count in classification. As taxonomies aspire to provide a capacious, authoritative account of a given animal, they are pressed toward inclusiveness, but the more kinds of information they encompass, the less neatly systematic they become. In searching out "the words, the definitions, the etymologies, the synonymies of God's secret dictionary," the second-family bestiaries assemble various more and less compatible sources of information. The problem of inclusiveness versus parsimony still challenges taxonomy, as illustrated by the debate over reclassifying chimpanzees, but in general the scientific taxonomists of recent centuries draw selectively and consistently on

physical data, aiming to establish internally coherent classifications. The bestiaries take the opposite approach. Their capaciousness respects all aspects of God's creative act, from the physical through the behavioral to the transcendently spiritual.

Yet, in choosing their materials, the second-family bestiaries make hundreds of discriminations. Despite their characteristic expansiveness, they accord little or no place to anecdotes and lore about animals from hagiography, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and the *lais* and romances.³⁴ Instead, they strongly favor certain authoritative sources that were, in the twelfth century, already several centuries old: the *Collectanea rerum memorabilium* of Caius Julius Solinus (third century); Latin versions of the second-century *Physiologus*; the *Hexameron* of Ambrose, Bishop of Milan (fourth century); and the *Etymologiae* of Isidore, Bishop of Seville (seventh century).³⁵ Information is selected and revised from these sources, revised most heavily from *Physiologus*, as I will discuss below. The second-family bestiaries are often said to be "compilations" of material from these sources, but they well illustrate the nature of medieval "compilation," which can involve extensive reorganizing, rejecting, and revising of material from sources.³⁶ Once having taken material on board, the bestiaries rarely critique its merits overtly, in contrast to the encyclopedists, for whom passing judgment is integral to establishing their authority. But the bestiaries do revise and reject information, making clear that what appears in a bestiary manuscript does not appear only because it can be found in a source.

Taking a single example, the Stag, from a single second-family manuscript, I will detail how and why we should consider the second-family bestiaries to be governed by a coherent purpose despite their diverse sources. Extensive scholarship on the bestiaries' manuscripts, sources, and audiences makes possible my close focus on just what sort of thinking is going on in a single bestiary text. British Library MS Additional 11283 (dated 1170/1180) is the earliest surviving manuscript of the second-family bestiaries, though it was not the first manuscript of its family.³⁷ Its text continues strongly through the later manuscripts of the second family. Nonetheless, differences among the manuscripts within the second family are substantial; they indicate that conceptualizing the animal realm was an ongoing, undecided question for the bestiaries' compilers.³⁸ Thus I now shift to speaking not of second-family bestiaries in general, but of *the* bestiary (MS Additional 11283) and *the* bestiaryist (the person(s) who controlled the production of MS Additional 11283). My shift to the singular could mislead if taken to imply that MS Additional 11283 is an altogether unique composition, or that its compiler more often alters

than accepts its source texts. Rather, my shift to the singular “bestiary” and “bestiarist” emphasizes that MS Additional 11283 is one voice in a long conversation among the bestiaries about how the animals (including the human animal) should be understood and classified.

Seven Ways of Looking at a Stag

A man and a woman

Are one.

A man and a woman and a blackbird

Are one.

—Wallace Stevens, “Thirteen Ways of Looking at a Blackbird”

Fragmentary and diverse as it is, the bestiary's meaning is also cumulative. In this respect, we might consider it a very distant analogue to Wallace Stevens's poem “Thirteen Ways of Looking at a Blackbird,” in which the term “blackbird” stays constant but its referent shifts about from the physical bird to an omen, a vehicle for metaphor, an aesthetic object, an ineffable symbol, a message scratched on the landscape, and more.³⁹ Each articulation of the blackbird is independent from the others, but cumulatively they investigate what it is to perceive: how perspectival is looking, and how mysterious the world's ontology. A man and a woman “are one” in the familiar romantic and marital cliché; a man and a woman and a blackbird “are one” in some unsettling sense that reassesses “one,” and even “are.” “One” in their shared physicality? “One” in sharing consciousness? “Are” one in the world? “Are” one in some figurative sense? “Are” one in mystical or religious belief? Stevens takes pains to evoke the blackbird's materiality, but also to show how ineluctably animal meanings turn figurative. At least seven kinds of meaning, from anatomical through spiritual, are invoked in the bestiary's entry for the *Cervi*, red deer stags with their hinds and calves.⁴⁰

1. *Mixing classificatory criteria has the authority of Genesis*: The Stag is a “beast,” but also a “quadruped.”

The bestiary's creatures are ontologically complex: they are by turns physical and figural, wonderful and instructive, enmeshed in narratives and good to eat. These diverse measures are difficult to conceive in one articulated system of classification. If the bestiary's taxonomy could be pictured, its

representation would require at least three dimensions, not the two dimensions needed for the neatly branching diagrams of later animal taxonomies. The bestiary's system might be visualized as several intersecting planes whose surfaces bear single schemes of distinction (by habitats or enmities) and whose nodes of intersection with other planes represent a single species in all its distinctiveness. No doubt each plane would curve and twist to accomplish its many intersections, or fold on itself like a Möbius strip or the staircases in an Escher drawing.⁴¹ Imagining such incommensurate distinctions has precedent in the Book of Genesis.

A major innovation of the second-family bestiary was to organize its sources into a structure based on the Bible's fifth and sixth days of creation.⁴² On the fifth day, according to Genesis in the Vulgate, God created "the great whales, and every living and moving creature which the waters brought forth, according to their kinds, and every winged fowl according to its kind" ("cete grandia et omnem animam viventem atque motabilem quam produxerant aquae in species suas, et omne volatile secundum genus suum"); on the sixth day, "God made the beasts of the earth according to their kinds, and cattle, and every thing that creepeth on the earth after its kind" ("fecit Deus bestias terrae iuxta species suas, et iumenta et omne reptile terrae in genere suo"), and last of all made man (Genesis 1:21, 25). In these subdivisions of the creatures, both habitat—land, sea, air—and locomotion—flying, creeping—define groups of creatures, as does some difference between the land's "bestias," "iumenta," and "reptilia." On what ground are beasts, cattle, and creeping things distinct from one another? If beasts are wild and cattle tame, creeping things are an obscure third term. If beasts are carnivores and cattle herbivores, creeping creatures share something with each, since some are carnivorous and others herbivorous. Or are creepers short-legged, the other two long-legged? Hovering together in the realm of possibility, these diverse criteria make the beasts, cattle, and creepers strongly intuitive groupings. Distinctions are fundamental to creation, but no single principle guides distinction-making.⁴³

The bestiary's patterning on Genesis extends to two chapters on the anatomy and ages of *homo*, anticipating the scholastic premise that "homo est animal" with a place in the bestiary's account of animate creatures.⁴⁴ But the bestiary vastly expands the "species" and "genera" it draws from Genesis—fish, fowl, beasts, cattle, crawlers—and adds new grounds for distinction among roughly a hundred entries.⁴⁵ Size, prestige, and virtue arrange the creatures in hierarchies. The eagle is "regalis," royal, the basilisk is "rex serpentium," king of serpents, the bat is "ignobile," low-born and unworthy (*MBB*, 167, 182, 195).⁴⁶

Grounds for differentiation overlap, producing further complexities. The *Cervi* (red deer) appear twice, with the wild beasts of the first section and with the *quadrupedia* of the second: "Those which, although they are similar to herd animals, yet are not under human care, such as red deer, fallow deer, wild asses, and so forth, are called quadrupeds because they walk on four feet, but neither are they wild beasts, such as lions, nor animals yoked so that they can help man" ("Quadrupedia vocata, quia quatuor pedibus gradiuntur, quae dum similia sint pecoribus, tamen sub cura humana non sunt, ut cervi, dammae, onagri, et cetera, sed neque bestiae sunt ut leones, neque iumenta, ut usus hominum iuvare possint": *MBB*, 150). *Cervi* were not out of place in their first appearance among the wild beasts, since the risks and challenges they posed to hunters were well known, but just as clearly they are quadrupeds "similar to herd animals" and dissimilar in some ways from "wild beasts, such as lions."⁴⁷

The double classification of the *Cervi* as wild beasts and as quadrupeds "not under human care" raises a crucial next aspect of the bestiary's taxonomy: it is profoundly centered on humankind.

2. *The Stag is good to eat*: "We read that many people accustomed to eating venison for breakfast have lived long lives without fevers." ("Legimus plurimos matutinis diebus cervinam carnem degustare solitos, sine febribus longaevis fuisse": *MBB*, 136).

Inflecting every account of natures in the bestiary is the conviction that the other animals are for human use. As discussed in Chapter 2, dominion defines humankind in Genesis 1:26: "and [God] said: Let us make man to our image and likeness, and let him have dominion over the fishes of the sea, and the fowls of the air, and the beasts, and the whole earth, and every creeping creature that moveth upon the earth" ("et ait: faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram, et praesit piscibus maris et volatilibus caeli et bestiis universaeque terrae omnique reptili quod movetur in terra"). Exegesis of this verse proposes that "let him have dominion" explains exactly in what sense man is made in God's "image and likeness." After the fall as before, Augustine writes in *The Literal Meaning of Genesis*, "God gave to man when He created him a power over the lower animals which he did not lose when he sinned. . . . He is able to dominate these creatures by the power of reason and not just by physical force."⁴⁸ Human dominion has strong Classical roots as well. Aristotle asserts that "plants exist for the sake of animals, and the other animals for the good of man."⁴⁹ The split between human reason and nonhuman unreason became authoritative for Christians in the patristic period, notably through

Augustine's writing against the Manicheans. Richard Sorabji's *Animal Minds and Human Morals* traces the interlocked development of three Christian beliefs: first, that the human soul is immortal because it is rational (not vice versa); second, that other animals are not rational and therefore their souls are not immortal; and third, that the irrationality of animals excludes them from the considerations due to humans under systems of justice.⁵⁰ In the century of the second-family bestiaries, Hugh of St. Victor formulates the resulting relationships in an analogy: as God has dominion over men, so man has dominion over animals ("sicut Deus hominibus, ita homo animalibus dominatur").⁵¹

In the bestiary a first consequence of dominion is that it measures animals in terms of their material usefulness. Different relations to humans subdivide the *iumenta* of the Vulgate Genesis into animals that carry burdens, animals that are eaten, and animals that are not under human control. Different sorts of usefulness and noxiousness contribute to defining each species as edible or inedible, wild or submissive, poisonous or medicinal, unreliable or loyal. Details woven through the Stag's description relate to hunting, shooting, and eating him: deer are not hearing (or not paying attention) when their ears are lowered, they head upwind when pursued with hounds, they freeze in position as a first reaction to danger, and their meat is healthful. The relation of a given animal to humankind may seem beside the point of taxonomy, but it is not an extraneous factor in a universe so unequivocally focused on humankind.

3. *The Stag figures the good Christian*: "These natures are considered, on appropriate and reasonable grounds, to converge in members of the Holy Church." ("Quae naturae in membris Sanctae Ecclesiae congrua et competenti ratione videntur convenire": *MBB*, 134–35).

The Stag's healthful meat calls to mind Claude Lévi-Strauss's well-known admonition that animals are not just "good to eat" but "good to think."⁵² Metaphorically as well as materially, the Stag is "for the good of man." The second-family bestiary uses metaphor to represent creation in a new way, distinct from the several ways taken in its sources. For its oldest sources, the Latin versions of *Physiologus*, the world can be transcended by reading it as a book of signs for spiritual truths. A more influential source, Ambrose's *Hexameron*, strikes analogies that value the creatures for their instructive likeness to virtuous and vicious humans. A third source, mediated through Solinus and Isidore of Seville, is Classical writing on nature, from Aristotle to Pliny to late Latin poetry, writing that emphasizes thinking about physical natures rather than providing them with religious meanings.

To begin with, the bestiary does not simply read creation semiotically, as does its most heavily revised source, *Physiologus*. Instead, the bestiary extends a capacious metaphoric embrace in which all aspects of creation illuminate one another. The bestiary's conjoining of physical behaviors and religious interpretations draws on the early Christian *Physiologus*, but works a crucial change on it. In *Physiologus*'s entry on the Stag,

Cervus inimicus est draconi; draco autem fugit a cervo in fissuras terre; et vadens cervus, et ebibens, implet nasa sua fontem aque, et evomit in fissuram terre, et educit draconem, et conculcavit eum, et occidit eum. Sic et dominus noster interfecit draconem magnum diabulum ex celestibus aquis, quibus habebat sapientie inenarrabilis; non enim potest draco bajulare aquam, neque diabolus sermones celestes. Si enim et tu habueris intellegibiles dracones absconsos in corde tuo, invoca Christum ab evangelis per orationes, et ipse occidet eum.

The stag is an enemy of the dragon. Moreover, the dragon flees from the stag into the cracks in the earth, and the stag, going and drinking from a stream until his muzzle is full, then spits out the water into the cracks and draws the dragon out and stamps on him and kills him. Thus did our Lord kill the huge dragon, the devil, with heavenly waters of indescribable wisdom. The dragon cannot bear water, and the devil cannot bear heavenly words. If you also have intelligible dragons hidden in your heart, call upon Christ in the Gospels with prayers and he will kill the dragon.⁵³

Physiologus concentrates intensely, even ecstatically, on heavenly meanings for earthly things. Here indeed the world is a book, a communication from God whose sign system, the created universe, is a means to spiritual ends. Michael J. Curley points out the inaccuracy of translating "Physiologus" as "The Naturalist." Instead, the appropriate sense is "one who interpreted metaphysically, morally, and finally, mystically the transcendent significance of the natural world."⁵⁴ Curley finds the most apt articulation of this "mystical hermeneutics" in Origen's *Commentary on the Song of Songs*:

Paulus nos Apostolus docet quod invisibilia Dei ex visibilibus intelligantur et ea, quae non videntur, ex eorum, quae videntur, ratione et similitudine contemplantur, ostendens per haec quod visibilis hic mundus de invisibili doceat et exemplaria quaedam caelestium contineat positio ista

terrena, ut ab his, quae deorsum sunt, ad ea, quae sursum sunt, possimus adscendere atque ex his, quae videmus in terris, sentire et intelligere ea, quae habentur in caelis.

Paul the apostle teaches us that the invisible things of God are understood by means of things that are visible, and that the things that are not seen are beheld through their relationship and likeness to things seen. He thus shows that this visible world teaches us about that which is invisible, and that this earthly scene contains certain patterns of things heavenly. Thus it is to be possible for us to mount up from things below to things above, and to perceive and understand from the things we see on earth the things that belong to heaven.⁵⁵

In the *Physiologus* entry on the Stag, the “intelligible dragons hidden in your heart” illustrate Origen’s “mystical hermeneutics,” coding earthly phenomena in heavenly terms. Physical dragons are “intelligible” when deciphered as signs for the devil’s presence in the Christian heart. The point of noticing the created world is to get beyond it.

The second-family bestiary makes a shift from semiotic toward metaphoric interpretation. To be sure, the bestiary preserves some animals’ interpretations from *Physiologus*, but more saliently the bestiary represents animal behaviors in a comparative mode that draws on metaphoric strategies.⁵⁶ The physical world does not have the same status when treated metaphorically as when treated semiotically. When *Physiologus* says the Stag kills dragons as Christ kills the Devil, we are not to imagine that the Stag shares natural qualities with Christ. Rather, the Stag calls Christ to mind; the Stag’s entire significance is that it can call Christ to mind. The bestiary’s entry on the Stag preserves this animal’s enmity with snakes, but without commentary. Here, in contrast, is the bestiary’s commentary on the behavior of Stags:

Cervi etiam hanc naturam habent, quod pro amore alterius patriae, mutant pascua sua et sese vicarie sustentant. Si quando immensa flumina vel maria transilient capita clunibus praecedentium superponunt, sibi que invicem succedentes nullum laborem ponderis sentiunt. . . . Quae naturae in membris Sanctae Ecclesiae congrua et competentem rationem videntur convenire, quia dum patriam istam, id est, mundum pro amore caelestis patriae mutant sese vicarie portant, id est, perfectiores munus perfectos exemplo et bonis operibus promovent et sustentant.

Stags have this nature that, yearning for another home, they migrate [lit., change their pastures] and help each other along the way. If when they cross great rivers or seas they place their heads on the rumps of the ones ahead, at the same time advancing as a team, they do not feel any burden of weight. . . . These natures are considered, on appropriate and reasonable grounds, to converge in members of the Holy Church, because when they change their previous home, that is, the world, for love of the Heavenly Home, they behave in a changed manner, that is, the more perfect ones by example and good works move the less perfect ones onward and support them.⁵⁷

This passage revises the Stag's transcendent significance, replacing it with a trope. To characterize the bestiary's strategy, the term "metaphor" can encompass a range of related comparative figures that medieval grammarians call tropes—metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, metalepsis, and so on—that, to some degree, both distinguish and fuse their points of comparison. Umberto Eco, in an essay with specific reference to bestiaries, argues that the oscillation between differentiating and conflating is what gives metaphoric figures their special power to open up new perceptions. A metaphoric figure does not neatly distinguish between its poles, but instead can work by a "*back-and-forth* of properties" or even a "*condensation*" in which both tenor and vehicle gain properties from one another.⁵⁸ The bestiary asserts a metaphoric relationship of this kind between red deer and Christians: the migratory behaviors of deer "are considered, on appropriate and reasonable grounds, to converge in members of the Holy Church." This equation imputes mutual concern and mutual exhortation to herding and swimming behaviors of red deer. At the same time, the metaphor confers on the Christian community something of the red deer's natural simplicity and unambiguous desire for a better life. As Eco observes, "two images are conflated, two things become different from themselves, and yet remain recognizable."⁵⁹

The bestiary also revises analogies taken from Ambrose's *Hexameron*, shifting them in metaphoric directions. Ambrose was himself an opponent of the semiotic readings to be found in Origen and *Physiologus*:

Hoc loco non ignoro quosdam bestiarum et pecorum et serpentium terrae species alio retulisse; ut haec ad immanitates criminum, stultitiam peccatorum, nequitiam cogitationum referrent. . . . Nos erubescimus simplices intelligere creaturas, quae simplicibus et suis declarantur

vocalibus! Coelum legimus, coelum accipiamus: terram legimus, terram intelligamus frugiferam.

I am not unaware of the fact that certain men treat of the race of beasts and cattle and crawling creatures as symbolical of the heinousness of sin. . . . [They] find it shameful to have understanding of simple created things, which are called by their simple and customary names. When we read of “heaven,” we should understand this to mean what it says. When we read of “earth,” we should understand the fruit-bearing earth.⁶⁰

For Ambrose, creation reveals its truths through instructive analogies that engage the material world rather than leaving it behind. For example, Ambrose writes that the widowed turtledove

iterare conjunctionem recusat, nec pudoris jura aut complaciti viri resolvit foedera, illi soli suam charitatem reservat, illi custodit nomen uxoris. Discite, mulieres, quanta sit viduitatis gratia, quae etiam in avibus praedicatur. . . . Ergo turturibus Deus hunc infudit affectum, hanc virtutem continentiae dedit, qui solus potest praescribere quod omnes sequantur.

renounces any other marriage alliance and does not break the laws of chastity or her pledges to her beloved, reserving for him alone her love, for him alone cherishing the name of wife. Learn, women, how great are the joys of that widowhood which even birds are said to observe. . . . God has infused into the turtledove this sentiment for the virtuous practice of continence. He alone has the power to prescribe the laws which all are obliged to follow.⁶¹

The basic analogy of this exhortation is “as do the turtledoves, so do (or should do) the widows.” Ambrose attributes social and sexual restraint to a bird, thus grounding the merit of oath-keeping and widowed chastity in God’s laws of nature. Then women are urged to imitate the bird—not to leave nature behind, as in *Physiologus*, but to become truly natural in obeying God’s law, as do the turtledoves. The premise of Ambrose’s analogy is that women and turtledoves are comparable creatures, both in their physicality and in their behavioral choices. This alignment of two natural creatures differs from the transcendent reading of natural creatures for spiritual significance in Origen and *Physiologus*.

When the bestiary absorbs analogies from Ambrose, the analogies shift toward metaphor as animals exceed their exemplary and cautionary roles. Analogies differ from metaphors: analogies assume that stable distinctions underlie similarities, so that grammarians do not classify analogy and simile with the tropes. The metaphoric tropes, in contrast, produce a tension between differences and likenesses by refusing to specify where likeness might end. The coded world of *Physiologus* and the natural analogies of Ambrose constrain the animal sign and the animal analogy to pointing instructively toward a superior truth. In the bestiary's shift toward metaphor, differences as well as likenesses are brought forward to participate in meaning. The bestiary loads up on difference by drawing on its third source of material, Classical writing on nature. The world-oriented attentiveness of this material from Pliny, Solinus, and Classical poetry provides the creatures with substantial, unglossed weight of their own.⁶² The bestiary supplements its material from Ambrose with the information that the turtledove is named for its call (tur-tur). Moreover, "avis pudica et semper in montium iugis et in desertis solitudinibus commorans" ("it is a modest bird, always abiding on the mountain heights and in the lonely wastelands": *MBB*, 185). In the winter, it leaves its nest and takes refuge in hollow trees. A cooing, forest-dwelling, nesting bird is mysteriously aligned with a widowed woman. Perhaps the woman and the turtledove are not only naturally chaste but naturally loving, naturally modest, naturally mothers? The turtledove's substantial physicality shifts its relation to widows away from didactic analogy and closer to metaphor's unconstrained connections.

The category of metaphor can bring the bestiary's extensive interpolations from Classical writing on nature into better coherence with its predominantly didactic and interpretive mode. Rather than fitting poorly with the interpretive work of the bestiary, Classical interpolations sustain the double commitment of metaphor to both tenor and vehicle. Peter Travis calls metaphor a "fiercely nonlogical equation that can only be found, or imagined to exist, in the material world before its translation into the predications of rationalized language."⁶³ He invokes Darrel Mansell's argument that metaphor is an "earthbound way of thinking. A metaphor is not so much aspects of the object reduced to the order of a prim and proper idea (the literal and subsequent figurative meanings) as aspects of the stubbornly inarticulate object itself prior to any idea at all."⁶⁴ Drawn into relationship with the metaphor of turtledove as widow, the turtledove's nesting, her call, and her love of solitude provide a material ballast that keeps the metaphor from floating off into the ether of moral semiosis. Much more than for *Physiologus*, Origen, and even Ambrose,

for the bestiary the created world is a weighty place that calls attention to itself within and beyond its metaphoric meanings.

An even deeper attachment to materiality is evident in a further kind of troping on nature. This kind of troping moves laterally across physical interconnections among the creatures.

4. *The Stag is materially enmeshed with other creatures*

Hi serpentium inimici. Cum se gravatos infirmitate persenserint spiritu narium eos extrahunt de cavernis, et superata pernicie venini eorum, pabulo reparantur. . . . E cornibus quod dextrum fuerit, efficacius est ad medellam. Si fugare angues gestias utrum velis ures. . . . Adversus venena mirificum est hinnuli coagulum occisi matris suae utero. Patuit eos numquam febrescere, quam ob causam confecta ex medullis ipsorum unguina sedant calores hominum languentium.

They are enemies of serpents. When they perceive clearly that they are burdened by weakness, with a snuffing of the nostrils they draw [the snakes] from their holes, and the adverse effect of the venom [being] overcome, [the stags] are renewed by a meal. . . . Of their two horns, that on the right is more effective as medicine. If you are eager to chase snakes away, you burn either one. . . . The rennet of a fawn killed in its mother's womb is wondrous against poisons. It is clear that they never become feverish, for that reason a salve made from their brains soothes the fevers of sick men. (*MBB*, 134–36)

Connections such as these proliferate in the bestiary, linking behavior to flesh, flesh to medicine, and creature to creature. As we have just seen, the bestiary also strikes connections between natural and spiritual realms: in one more example of that kind of thinking, the dog is equivalent to both the good preacher, healing with his tongue, and the recidivist sinner, returning to his own vomit (*MBB*, 147–48). Differently adjacent are certain phenomena *within* the physical realm: because dogs heal themselves by licking their wounds, “a puppy’s tongue is wont to be a salve for intestinal wounds” (“catuli denique lingua vulneratorum solet esse saluti intestinorum”: *MBB*, 147). Together with the spiritual metaphors discussed above, such physical links express a taxonomic principle: because creation is a great single system unifying all things, apprehending creation entails discovering its internal resonances.

These discoveries are fragmentary, startling, and arcane; they hint at the inner workings of a great system that is not fully knowable.

Sometimes an animal is paired with an "enemy": the deer is enemy to serpents, the hydrus to the crocodile, the newt to the scorpion, the cat to the mouse, creating pairs across species distinctions. The principle behind such pairs is articulated with reference to the basilisk and weasel: "the Father of all things never makes anything without a counterforce" ("nihil enim Parens ille rerum sine remedio constituit": *MBB*, 195). Links by enmity are metonymic: Stag and serpent share a mutual hostility, not a physical characteristic. In a synecdoche stretching across death, the Stag's living behavior inhabits a body part: his serpent-killing suffuses his antlers, so that burning them works as a snake repellent. A similar synecdoche locates the Stag's ability to overcome snake venom in the rennet of the uterine calf, "wondrous against poisons." In a memorable metonymy, the crocodile's hypocrisy so inheres in its dung that ugly prostitutes can apply it as makeup and appear beautiful "until flowing sweat washes it off" ("donec sudor defluens lavet": *MBB*, 140).⁶⁵ A link through the eyes renders all female animals susceptible when they conceive: mares, ewes, doves, and women should look only on handsome exemplars of their own species "lest they give birth to babies resembling [the beasts] they see" ("ne visibus occurrentes similes fetus pariant": *MBB*, 160). Natures interpenetrate.

Michel Foucault shows in *The Order of Things* that sixteenth-century science was still analyzing nature in terms of such juxtapositions, resemblances, antipathies, and sympathies: "the universe was folded in upon itself: the earth echoing the sky, faces seeing themselves reflected in the stars, and plants holding within their stems the secrets that were of use to man."⁶⁶ The knowledge held in such folds is substantial (a recipe for repelling snakes, another for neutralizing venom), but the means to it is mysterious. Why is the rennet of the uterine calf, and not (say) its crushed hoof, "wondrous against poisons"? How does one locate the folds in the universe?

Mysterious relations among known things are ideally suited to expression in metaphoric figures, which produce new insight by touching two known things together. It may be that metaphoric connections are so pervasive in the bestiary because metaphor is suited to expressing the ineffable design of a divine plan that cannot be known in literal terms. But stressing the ineffability of metaphor, particularly when it comes to treating snakebite, may put the bestiary's head unnecessarily high in the clouds. The bestiary well illustrates Eco's claim that metaphoric figures constitute "an *additive*, and not

substitutive, instrument of knowledge.”⁶⁷ Metaphors in the bestiary are cognitive tools; the links they find across nature are concrete instances of classification. Just as surely as it differentiates day from night and beast from bird, God’s creation connects all things in one splendid unity. The bestiary’s broadly metaphoric perception of creation aspires to express this unity by supplementing its differentiations with the discovery of similarities and interconnections.

5. *But do stags really eat snakes?* “And they have another nature, that after eating a snake they run to a fountain, and drinking from it they shed their coats and all their old age.” (“Habent et aliam naturam, quod post comestionem serpentis ad fontem currunt, et ex eo bibentes, pilos et omnem suam vetustatem deponunt”: *MBB*, 134).

A corollary of post-Enlightenment readers’ discomfort with the bestiary’s metaphorical thinking is their discomfort with its inaccuracies and untruths: its stag eating a snake, its fox feigning death to catch birds, its unicorn and griffin. For these readers, it hardly rehabilitates the bestiary when evidence for some degree of accuracy to nature can be adduced: a stag eating frogs and bones in Scotland, a fox feigning death to catch birds in the Caucasus Mountains, a fossilized protoceratops that looks like a griffin.⁶⁸ Discomfort persists because, not only for the exotic griffin but just as surely for the familiar stag and fox, the bestiary’s preferred source of data is not direct observation of nature. Instead, its strongest allegiance is to the authority of textual record. This allegiance was still in place for natural historians in the sixteenth century, writes Stephen Jay Gould; they “displayed no rooted antipathy” to firsthand observation of animals, “but such activities represented a diversion from their primary purpose: to transmit everything ever known, stated, or merely believed about the objects under their scrutiny.”⁶⁹ Rather than focusing on biological accuracy, these naturalists and the bestiarist of Additional 11283 focus on the perceptual process: what has been *thought* about animals? what do they *mean* to us?

In consequence, the bestiary’s animals have mixed ontological status: they may or may not exist in the world, but they certainly exist in cultural memory.⁷⁰ What “stag” in the bestiary’s textual heritage kills and eats snakes? Possibly a living *Cervus elaphus* observed before the time of *Physiologus*, but certainly the textual *cervus* of Solinus’s *Collectanea*, Isidore’s *Etymologiae*, and Christian iconography.⁷¹ As Foucault comments on the sixteenth-century naturalists’ subordination of direct observation to legendary material, “the reason for this was not that they preferred the authority of men to the precision of

an unprejudicial eye, but that nature, in itself, is an unbroken tissue of words and signs, of accounts and characters, of discourse and forms." Foucault's present tense ("la nature . . . est") recognizes the ongoing intellectual challenge of nature's inseparability from the thinking of nature.⁷² Subfields in several disciplines have analyzed limitations on human insight and objectivity about natural phenomena, even as ways of minimizing these limitations are more and more valued.⁷³ The real issue for rigorous thought about animals is not whether complete objectivity is possible, but how to negotiate the cultural component in all human perception.

Scholars often resort to the concept of "wonder" to explicate the bestiary's inaccuracies. Much can be said about wonder that is helpful when confronting a snake-eating stag. Wonders attract and hold attention, supporting the bestiary's didactic purposes. But wonders are not simply rhetorical ploys designed to win attention. Wonder is a component of ancient and medieval learning, where the snake-eating stag appears in many works. Brian Stock begins his *Myth and Science* by reminding his readers that "throughout the greater part of the Middle Ages, *scientia* referred neither to exact science nor to empirically verifiable fact but to all things knowable. Scientific thought and the language of science were inseparable from mythical modes of explaining how the universe arose and functioned."⁷⁴ For understanding this *scientia* suffused by myth, it is less useful to subdivide the bestiary's data into the verifiable versus the legendary than to envision its data on a single continuum, from the mundane to the amazing, the obvious to the profound. Here Caroline Bynum's argument that wonder is a starting point for thought, rather than an escape into fantasy, is most helpful.⁷⁵ In the Christian universe, so expressive of God's plan, every kind of significance should contribute to defining the Stag.

Wallace Stevens reflects on the conjoined inevitability and productivity of conceiving a blackbird. Like the bestiary, Stevens's "Thirteen Ways of Looking at a Blackbird" presents an ontologically complex creature. The blackbird looks fleetingly like no more than a bird as Stevens evokes a perfect harmony that might be prelapsarian: "A man and a woman / are one. / A man and a woman and a blackbird / are one." These lines picture a moment when creatures are just creatures, prior to the decisive cut that separated human animals from other animals (as well as man from woman). But already, in this Edenic sense of the lines, the blackbird becomes a synecdoche for all nonhuman creatures, and its oneness with humans expresses some ideology of benevolent creation and primal unity. In striking resonance with the bestiary, Stevens proposes that perceiving is so saturated with remembering and imagining that it is virtually

impossible to apprehend the creature per se, prior to any of its assigned meanings. The inseparability of creature and meaning does not trouble the bestiary, in which creation itself was a divine Word heavy with meanings. Lore, wonder, medicine, and metaphor constitute the Stag as substantially as his own body.

6. *The Stag's name is a key to his nature:* "Stags are called *apo toy ceraton*, that is, "with horns," for in Greek horns are called *cerata*." ("Cervi dicti *apo tou ceraton*, id est a cornibus, *cerata* enim Graece cornua dicuntur": *MBB*, 134).

Within temporality, each animal was decisively conceived as soon as Adam spoke its name. Additional 11283 opens its division on herd animals with the account of Adam's naming that opens the twelfth book of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies*, his book on animals. Seven of the later second-family bestiaries shift this account to the opening of their first section, on the wild beasts, indicating that compilers saw it as an important general statement about the bestiary's concerns.⁷⁶ Isidore grounds his project in the Classical and patristic theory of "natural language," the theory that words originally reflected or encapsulated their referents and that the relation of word to referent can be recovered through etymological analysis.⁷⁷ Creation's sixth day is the founding scene for the theory of natural language: Adam's names for the animals express his perfect insight into their natures. In the second-family bestiaries as in the *Etymologies*, Adam named each kind of animal, "calling each one a name from its effective disposition, according to the condition of nature to which it was subject" ("appellans unicuique nomen ex praesenti institutione, iuxta conditionem naturae cui serviet").⁷⁸ The phrase interprets and expands the information in Genesis 2:20: "and Adam called all the beasts by their names, and all the fowls of the air, and all the cattle of the field" ("appellavitque Adam nominibus suis cuncta animantia et universa volatilia caeli et omnes bestias terrae").

Adopting Isidore's account of Adam's naming has several interrelated functions for the bestiary's work of classification. First of all, it aligns Adam with God as a speaker, a possessor of *logos* or *ratio*, in contrast to the dumb beasts.⁷⁹ God created through the Word, an unimaginable expression of divine wisdom, and endowed Adam with analogous though less capacious speech and reason.⁸⁰ Adam first expresses his likeness to God in his spoken authority over the other creatures. Adam's naming is powerfully taxonomic, not simply because it distinguishes species from species, but more fundamentally because it distinguishes the human thinker from the object of thought.

Second-family bestiaries tend to emphasize Adam's difference in

illustrating this passage. Only two out of twelve illustrations in the surviving manuscripts show Adam naked as he names. The others are diverse in layout and iconographic lineage, but they converge in providing various enhancements of his status: robes, gloves, a chair, a scroll, a scepter.⁸¹ The illustration in Additional 11283 (Figure 5) shows Adam robed, in a seated position, though without a chair, gesturing authoritatively at an array of animals as they walk toward him.⁸² His raised index finger suggests that he is distinguishing each animal from the others, and his differentiation is echoed in the illustrations on the facing page for entries on the sheep, ram, lamb, and billy goat. These facing pages well illustrate the bestiary's conjoined emphasis on distinctions among animals and on a more profound distinction between Adam and all other animals, a distinction that aligns him instead with their creator. His meaningful names are secondary imitations of God's creative *logos*.

Expanding the text of Genesis to urge that Adam's names accurately represent animal natures, Isidore and the bestiary undertake, as it were, a tertiary imitation of Adam's and the Creator's projects. Each of Isidore's entries for animals begins by providing etymologies for its name, and the bestiary adopts or adapts many of them. These etymologies do not nostalgically seek to recover Adam's own prelapsarian speech. Any source language can provide illuminating etymologies for the creatures' names; there is no need to move all the way back to Adam's original tongue or even to contemporary Hebrew.⁸³ Instead, Adam's speaking is the foundational instance of human knowledge: the first man first apprehends the creatures in words. A universe revolving around the only creature who possesses words is not only anthropocentric but logocentric. Adam's naming provides the bestiary with a paradigm that values language as the means to truth. In so doing, the bestiary does away with the question of priority between observation and word. Adam's names are themselves specially compacted observations that capture each animal's nature. The Sheep is named for its role as a sacrificial animal ("Ovis . . . ab oblatione dictum"); the Vulture is named for its slow flight ("Vultur a volatu tardo nominatus putatur"); and the Cat for its enmity with mice ("Musio appellatus quod muribus infestus sit": *MBB*, 151, 161, 167). The scene of Adam's naming answers the importunate modern wish that the bestiary would distinguish between direct observation and written record. Creation was known, from the outset, in the divine Word of God and the spoken word of Adam.

7. *Stags learn from their mothers*: "Nor do [the hinds] lead their offspring out just anywhere, but hide them with tender care and chide them to remain

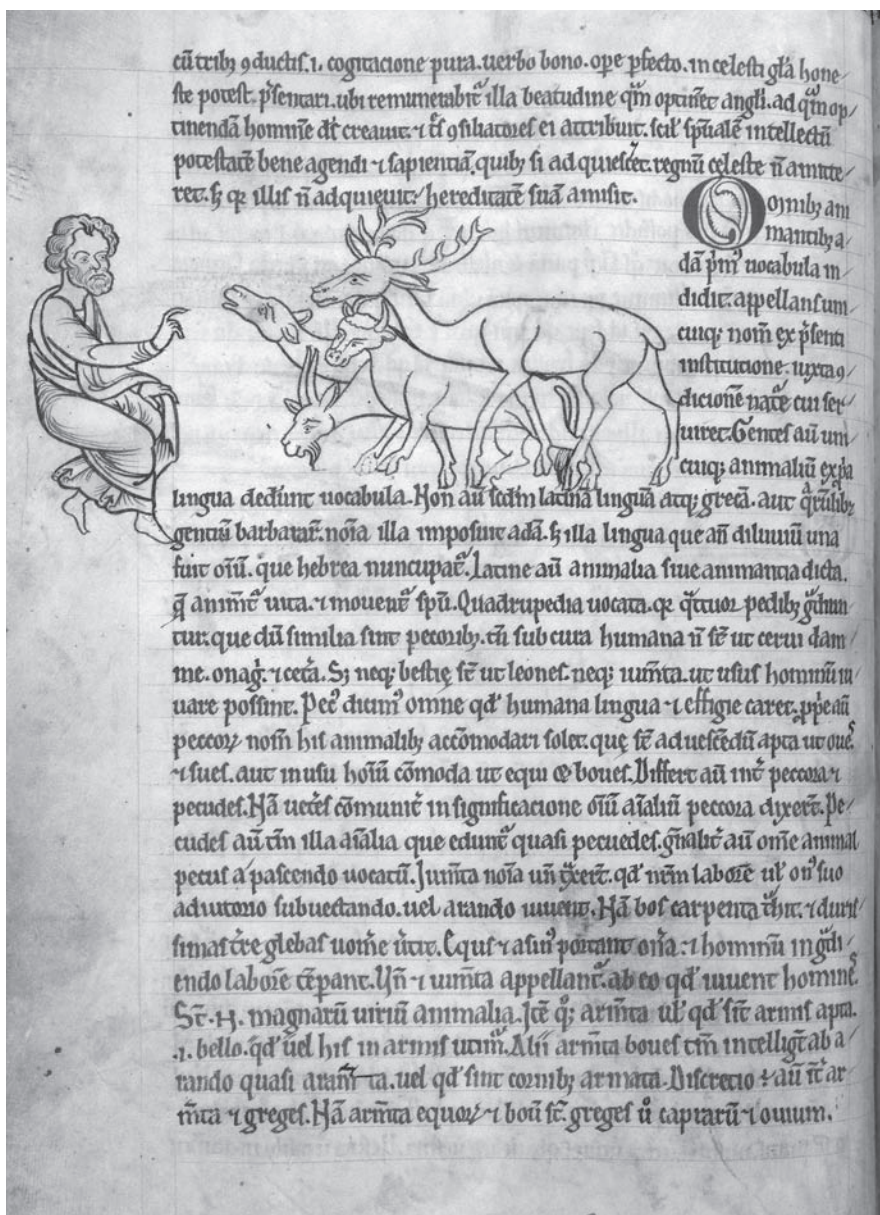


Figure 5. Left, Adam names the animals; opening of the section on domestic animals and quadrupeds in the second-family bestiary. Right, section on domestic animals and quadrupeds in the second-family bestiary. © The British Library Board. London, British Library, MS Add.11283, folios 11v, 12r.



vis molle pecus lanis corpore
inermis. ammo placidū. ab obla-
tione dictū. eo qd' apd' ueteres in iaco n̄ tau-
ri. s̄ oues in sacrificio mactarent. Ex his qd'
dā bidentes uocant. easq; int' octo dentes du-
os altiores habent. q̄t maxime gentiles in
sacrificiū offerebant. Ouis sub aduētu hiemis in explebit' ad etiā. itacia
bilit' h̄bā rapit. eo qd' p̄sentiat' asp̄itacē hiemis ad futuā. ut se p̄us her-
be pabulo farciat. q̄ gelu adurent' q̄t h̄ba deficiat.



Quervex ul' a uirib; dict' qd' ce-
rit ouib; sit fortior. ul' qd' sit
uir. i. mactat'. ul' qd' uermes in capite
habeat. q̄z excitat' pruritū. iūne se g-
cucunt. i. pugnant' ē magno impetu
feriūt. Aries ul' a iocunda peot. i. a marte
uocat'. Un̄ apd' nos in gregib; mactat'
mares dicunt'. siue qd' hoc pec' a genalis

p̄mū ariet. ē. immolati. ut aries qd' imponit' ariet. Un̄ i illud. ariet macta-
tur ad aiam.



Agnus dī. quasi p̄. latine aū idō hoc nom̄
habere putant. eo qd' p̄ccis ammantib; is ma-
trē agnoscat. adeo ut etiā si in agno grege
erret. statim balatū recognoscat uocē parentis. festinatq; ad matrem.
lactū q̄ matris notat' fontes requirit. Oat' a m̄ multa agneloz m̄la. to-
lū filiū nouit. Un̄ p̄ p̄limoz balat' ead' speciet. s̄ illa tñ fecit' filiū dicitur ace-
tit'. i. tolū filiū tanto pietatis testimonio recognoscat.



Hircus latiniū animal. i.
petulcū. i. feruent' semp
ad cortū. cui ocli ob libidine intus
uistū aspiciunt. Un̄ i nom̄ h̄ir. Hā
hirci s̄ oclōz angli sc̄lin suetoniū.
cui natā adō calidissima ē. ut ad
amantē lapidē quē nec ignis nec

hidden within the depths of the bushes or base of plants. When they grow strong enough to flee [danger], [the hinds] teach them through training how to run; they become accustomed to leaping across precipices.” (“Nec qualibet partus suos educant, sed tenero studio occulunt et absconditos inter profunda fruticum vel herbarum pedum verberare castigant ad latendum. Cum maturerit ad fugam robur, per exercitium docent cursum; assuescunt salire per abrupta”: *MBB*, 135).

Adam’s naming sets him decisively above the other animals, but he is not the only animal who signifies, nor even the only animal who reasons. At cross purposes with their logocentric premise, etymologies introduce a final aspect of the bestiary’s thought. Despite contrasting the power of human reason and animal unreason, etymologies themselves sometimes nuance that distinction. “The young of the stags are called calves (*hinnuli*), from ‘to nod’ (*innuere*), because at a nod from their mother they hide” (“Hinnuli filii sunt cervorum ab innuere dicti, quod nutu matris suae absconduntur”: *MBB*, 136).⁸⁴ The magpie is so called because its ability to pronounce words aligns it with poets: “*Picae quasi poeticæ*” (*MBB*, 180). In a postlapsarian abdication of the authority to name, peacock, quail, turtledove, stork, and raven were named for their calls (as in English are the cuckoo and chickadee): “indeed, the diversity of their calls instructed men what they should name them” (“varietas enim vocis earum docuit quid homines nominarentur”: *MBB*, 166). The logocentrist would insist that the birds have not named themselves, but that their calls inspired onomatopoeic names. Still, the names accept their calls into language.

An underlying principle of the bestiary’s taxonomy is that animals other than human exist in lack. The bestiary does define “animal” in terms that encompass humankind: “animals or animate beings are so called because they are animated by life and moved by spirit” (“animalia sive animantia dicta, quae animantur vita et moventur spiritu”).⁸⁵ Next, humans are distinguished from other animals: “every animal that lacks human speech and form we call a beast” (“pecus dicimus omne quod humana lingua et effigie caret”).⁸⁶ “Humana lingua,” the human tongue or language, expresses *ratio*: speaking is the tangible expression of Adam’s fundamental difference from the animals he names. This primal differentiation by “speech and form” is obviously anthropocentric. A common bat (if bats had the *ratio* to care about classifying) might divide the creatures into bats on the one hand, and on the other every animal that lacks a bat’s echolocation and leathery wings—characteristics more salient for the creatures who depend on them than for the rest of us.

Medievalists are well acquainted with the prevalence and didactic force of

the bestiary's radical cut between the human and other animals. At the same time, a countercurrent in the bestiary interconnects the species and values their natural capacities. As I have noted above, two emphases tend to emerge in commenting on animal capacities, the first hortatory: we humans should be as faithful as the turtledove; we should avoid unclean places as do the migrating deer. Or, quite differently, a natural trait can be an invitation to wonder: the tiger is "marvelous in strength" and "miraculous in speed" (*MBB*, 28). Alongside the wonder of nature and its exemplarity, an important third way of conceiving the *animalia* finds contiguities among them that diminish a core claim about human uniqueness: the claim that rational thought is absent in other animals.

What is this special capacity called *ratio*? In rigorous terms, *ratio* cannot be a trait shared out among animal kinds. Speech and reason are properties of an eternal soul, together with awareness of God. But the bestiary's entries on the other animals elide the issue of awareness of God, not mentioning this capacity as a point of contrast with humans, and this elision facilitates some further elisions on the issue of rationality.⁸⁷ The bestiary's sources contrast *ratio* with *natura* in explaining behavior: what might look like thoughtful prediction or deduction from evidence has natural causes in the nonhuman animals. At a few points the bestiary adopts from its sources direct statements that *ratio* is lacking in them. The phoenix, despite its trust in resurrection, is "without the comprehension of reason" ("sine rationis perceptione": *MBB*, 175). Hoopoes, although "irrational birds" ("irrationabiles volucres"), care for their aged parents (*MBB*, 177).⁸⁸ But in other cases, the bestiarist omits the contrast between irrational and rational behavior when adapting source material.

Ambrose, for example, begins his discussion of dogs' ability to track with a general observation: "That dogs are devoid of reason is beyond all doubt. Nevertheless . . . one can easily perceive that they are able to understand, by the training given by nature, what it has taken a few individuals a long time to achieve with the aid of the refinements of syllogistic argumentation acquired in the advanced schools of rhetoric" ("Exsortem rationis canem esse nemo dubitaverit; tamen . . . quod pauci in gymnasiis constituti, qui totam in discendo vitae longaevitatem contriverint, vix potuerunt cognoscere, ut syllogismorum conjunctiones contexerent, hoc naturali canis eruditione comprehendere facile poterit aestimari").⁸⁹ The bestiarist deletes Ambrose's opening in favor of "Nothing is smarter than dogs" ("Nihil autem sagacius canibus"), and revises Ambrose's account of tracking to: "Where the dog discovers the trail of a hare or stag and comes to a fork in the path and a kind of crossing of the ways

that is divided into several parts, setting itself at the start of each of the ways, putting forth its knowledge of scent gathering, it silently mulls over [the situation] like a syllogistic proposition" ("Canis vero ubi vestigium leporis cervi ve reperit atque ad diverticulum semitae venerit et quoddam viarum compitum quod partes in plurimas scinditur, obiciens singularum semitarum exordia tacitus secum ipse pertractat, velut syllogisticam vocem sagacitatem colligendi odoris emittens": *MBB*, 145–46). Ambrose closes his account of tracking by repeating his contrast: "What men, with the aid of prolonged discussion and meditation, achieve with difficulty, nature readily supplies to dogs" ("Quod homines vix prolixa compositae artis meditatione componunt, hoc canibus ex natura suppetit").⁹⁰ Again the bestiarist revises: "And thus, with the wrong turn rejected, [the dog] finds the facts" ("Et sic falsitate repudiata, invenit veritatem": *MBB*, 146). Ambrose's emphasis on contrast between the dog's mind and the human mind has given way to emphasis on similarity.

The same sort of revision can affect material drawn from Isidore's *Etymologies*. Isidore provides two etymologies for the apes (*simia*): "flat-nosed," which he deems correct, and "similar to humans," which he rejects ("sed falsum est").⁹¹ This rejection covers both the etymology and its claim that apes are similar to humans, since word and thing are intimately related in Isidore's system of knowledge. The bestiary's entry on apes opens instead with the rejected etymology, which is now correct: "apes are called by the Latin word *simia* because one observes in them considerable similarity to human reason" ("*simiae* vocantur latino sermone, eo quod multa in eis similitudo rationis humanae sentitur").⁹²

In compiling sources, the bestiarist sometimes edits out categorical language that distinguishes between natural capacities and reason, and adopts only the positive assessments of animal capacities. Several animals enjoy foresight, from the practical "prudentia" of the hedgehog carrying fruit home on its prickles to the predictive powers of swans and vultures, who are "informed and instructed" by "certain signs" unknown to us. The bestiarist skips over Ambrose's explanation that vultures have their knowledge "by the exercise of an instinct analogous to human reasoning."⁹³ Elephants in the bestiary "are admired for their intelligence and capacious memory" ("intellectu et memoria multa videntur"); spiders and women share a knowledge of weaving (*MBB*, 127, 212).

Ratio allows humans to communicate in language, convey knowledge, and establish social groups. Animals communicate with each other and with humans, in signs that are perhaps a kind of language. If elephants "see

perchance a man wandering through the wastelands, they offer to guide him as far as the familiar roads" ("per deserta vagabundum hominem forte viderint, ductus usque ad notas vias praebent": *MBB*, 130). The elephants' gestures or postures signify across the species line. As discussed in Chapter 2, dogs can avenge their masters; "often dogs have even produced evidential proofs to contradict circumstances of a murder that was committed, so that most of their silent testimony is believed" ("saepe etiam necis illatae evidētia canes ad redarguendos reos indicia prodiderunt, ut moto eorum testimonio plerumque sit creditum": *MBB*, 146). Lions can understand human gestures or words signifying subordination and misfortune: "they spare the prostrate, and allow captives they encounter to return home" ("prostratis enim parcut, captivos obvios repatriare permittunt": *MBB*, 121). Ants and bees are said to communicate in large social groups. Bees choose their king together based on their judgment of which bee is most worthy; "the bees guard their king with the greatest protection, and think it noble to die for him" ("regem suum apes summa protectione defendunt, et perire pro eo pulchrum putant": *MBB*, 191, 193). Like the hind who "chides" her calf to remain hidden, eagles, crows, and other creatures "teach" and "admonish" their offspring (*MBB*, 135, 167, 183).

Some animals manipulate and falsify their signs. The bestiary does not hesitate to attribute conscious volition in these cases. The lion eludes hunters by brushing out his tracks with his tail. "The odor of the hunters reaches to him and with his tail he covers the trail of foot-prints he left behind. Then the hunters are unable to track him" ("Venit ad eum odor venatorium et cum cauda sua tegit post tergum vestigia sua. Tunc venatores investigare eum nequeunt": *MBB*, 120). The fox uses red earth to simulate blood, rolling in it so as to appear dead and lure carrion birds into striking range. The hyena uses its voice as a lure: "with persistent listening it learns the vocalization that can produce an imitation of the human voice, so that at night it can attack a man summoned by the ruse" ("assiduo auditu addiscit vocamen quod exprimere possit imitationem vocis humanae, ut in hominem astu accitum nocte saeviat": *MBB*, 131).⁹⁴ Is it most "rational" of all to deceive? Jacques Lacan identifies not sign-making but falsifying signs as the uniquely human capacity: "Nor does an animal cover up its tracks, which would be tantamount to making itself the subject of the signifier."⁹⁵ Brushing out his tracks with his tail, the lion eludes not only hunters but Lacan's articulation of animal lack, an articulation that is consonant with the several centuries of rationalism summarized in Chapter 2: not only is the binary distinction between the human and all other animals remarkably persistent, but its foundation remains just as

persistently in *logos*—in speech, in signification and falsification, in judgment and deduction.

As in the troubled term *animal* itself, in the bestiary's many animals the human is simultaneously everywhere and nowhere: animals are seen in human terms, and yet the human is in binary opposition to the animal. The bestiary's attributions to bees and birds of humanlike king making, justice seeking, and education of children are anthropomorphic perceptions. At the same time, however, these very perceptions revise and reject the classificatory split between human rationality and animal lack. Thus it would be a mistake to dismiss the bestiary's depictions simply because they are anthropomorphic. Seeing animals in human terms, as "parents" and "teachers" and "kings," is consonant not only with anthropomorphism but also with attempting to characterize nonhuman mentalities and behaviors.

A Theory of Natural Order

Taxonomy (the science of classification) is often undervalued as a glorified form of filing—with each species in its folder, like a stamp in its prescribed place in an album; but taxonomy is a fundamental and dynamic science, dedicated to exploring the causes of relationships and similarities among organisms. Classifications are theories about the basis of natural order, not dull catalogues compiled only to avoid chaos.⁹⁶

Differentiation is the most evident act of animal taxonomy, but just as important is identifying relationships. In the interplay of difference and relationship, Stephen Jay Gould locates the theoretical work of animal taxonomy: its search for the "causes" and "basis" of natural order. Whereas modern animal taxonomies restrict the history of the earth to its material traces, the bestiary's Christian perspective does not offer it that parsimony. Its frame of reference is not simply the "earth" but the "creation" in its physical, moral, and spiritual interrelatedness. The bestiary's "relationships and similarities" cross-connect species in resonances that are mysterious, suggestive, and metaphorical. The Stag's enmity with snakes suffuses his antlers even after his death; the crocodile's hypocrisy makes its dung the perfect cosmetic. Such connections move beyond the purely physical, but at the same time, the physical remains embedded in them. Metaphoric thought holds likeness and difference in tension, discovering a natural world bound together by resonances, metonymies, and adjacencies, even as it unfolds in distinctions and antipathies.

Perhaps no aspect of the bestiary is more disorienting than its metaphoric

analyses of physical phenomena. Today, in the wake of Darwinian views on evolution, we would expect the observation that deer migrate in herds to have an entirely material explanation—for example, that deer migrate with the seasons to seek better forage and that moving in herds makes them less vulnerable to predators. If televised, such an explanation would offer vivid footage of a wolf pack stalking the herd and picking off a straggler, to frenetic musical accompaniment in a minor key. The explanation that the migrating deer share characteristics with a Christian community provides them with a different sort of meaningfulness, but a meaningfulness that expresses God's plan for humankind. Which explanation tells us more about the world? The answer will be different according to what view of the world one holds.

In many ways the bestiary is a conventional product of religious thought, but its very piety throws into relief a certain revisionism. The bestiary sits at the intersection of analytical and mythical thinking that Brian Stock investigates in *Myth and Science*. He argues that the developments in medieval *scientia* are difficult to recognize from the perspective of later periods: "scientific ideas frequently underwent evolution within the framework of myth and appeared less often as total revolutions in world-view than as internal, structural changes within the myths themselves."⁹⁷ The bestiary's most basic structural change in reworking the biblical creation myth is to single out the animate creatures of its fifth and sixth days. Taken all together, the creatures are not a little fragment of a larger story, but instead encompass that larger story, from the Fall (elephant, serpent, moray eel and viper) through Salvation (lion, panther, phoenix, caladrius). The bestiary's organization rests in the material world, where the *animalia* constitute a breathing subset of creation that is, at the same time, shot through with Christian significance.

Consolidating its definition of the animal realm, the bestiary evokes and also exceeds the standard exegesis of Genesis. In keeping with exegetical tradition, the performance of *ratio* begins when Adam speaks the names of animals. In the bestiary, not just rational speech but analytical classification begins here as Adam's names capture animal natures in a range of rhetorical tropes. "Wolf" means "lion-footed," an antonomasia; "duck" means "swim," a metonymy; "sheep" means "offering," a metalepsis; "kid" means "edible meat," a synecdoche (*MBB*, 142, 151, 152, 189). The bestiary installs Isidore's etymologies among its further strategies for differentiating and interconnecting the creatures. Locating the origin of figurative thought in Adam's naming provides the bestiary's method with its own myth of origin. Had Adam known the postlapsarian world, he could well have named the roe deer "good preacher,"

the viper “adulterer,” and the unicorn “Christ incarnate,” as does the bestiary (*MBB*, 137, 197, 126). Here Adam’s *logos* surpasses the logical to align with metaphoric strategies, in keeping with Mansell’s connection between metaphor and Isidore’s theory of natural language: “A metaphor is what survives—or exists—of such a language. . . . Language in the metaphor is on its way back toward becoming the object again.”⁹⁸ God’s *genera* and *species* persist in Adam’s figurative thought, providing authoritative precedent for the bestiary’s classificatory procedure.

In the bestiary’s most striking revision of its sources, *ratio* comes to characterize other animals as well as Adam. Their little fragments and glimmers of deduction, judgment, and sign-making connect them to Adam across their profound differences. With *ratio* as their distinguishing feature, humans are crucially differentiated from other animals; with *ratio* even slightly shared out among them, animal difference is shot through with similitude. Shared physicality is a given for all the *animalia*, but in their fragmentary *ratio*, animals emerge as humankind’s first Other: they are both unlike Adam and cognitively similar to him.⁹⁹ This revision of the bestiary’s sources renders its final chapters on Man belated: already, animals have presented Adam with the original ground for his self-conception. Human likeness to and difference from animals complements human likeness to and difference from God.

The centrifugal force of Adam’s dominion tugs the bestiary’s text and scholarly analysis away from the other animals and toward the all-important human. The bestiarist might object, what is the human without the others? Reading the second-family bestiary as a taxonomy accounts for its substantial interest in animal life—not only as directly observed but as perceived, understood, and recorded in cultural memory. From Lion at the opening to Man at the close, the bestiary draws the *animalia* together in one informative subsystem of creation.

Chapter 4

The Noble Hunt as a Ritual Practice

The second-family bestiary establishes relationships among animals in a learned, reflective, morally instructive mode. Observation of living creatures is less important to the bestiary's taxonomy than is collating and organizing the animal lore and animal narratives of the past. Traces of living behavior also mark the bestiary, more substantially than may at first appear, but on balance the bestiary's frame of reference rests inside the library and the scriptorium. A marginal note in bestiary manuscript Additional 11283 illustrates in its uniqueness the bestiary's learned frames of reference. Other notations in the manuscript offer academic glosses, cross-references to Solinus, and the occasional "nota bene." On folio 31 verso, in the margin of the entry for a many-legged aquatic animal that can pull the bait off a fishhook without snagging itself, a medieval hand adds "note for the Blakemere pond" ("nota pro stagno Blakemere"). In the bestiary's source this "polypus" was an octopus, but a British inland reader has taken it for a freshwater crustacean such as a crayfish and recorded fishing for it or spotting it in a nearby pond.¹ This tidbit of local information is a last illustration that the bestiary is not a purely intellectual exercise, nor was it taken to be so in its times.

The hunting treatises of this chapter invert the bestiaries' proportions of metaphoric interpretation and field observation. Gaston III, count of Foix, shows his detachment from bestiary tradition in a chapter of his *Livre de chasse* titled "Of the Hart and His Nature." Gaston details the hart's reproductive behavior, the risks of hunting a hart, his droppings at different times of year, and his life cycle in the mode of direct testimony: "I have seen," "I have truly seen" ("ay je veü," "j'ay bien veü"). In contrast, Gaston's second-hand reference to the bestiary's snake-eating stag is hedged with doubt: "and some people say, but I do at all not confirm it" ("et si dient aucunes genz, mes je ne le aferme mie").² In a related departure from bestiary tradition, the dominant tactics

of conception and systematization in the hunting treatises differ from the bestiaries' tactics of metaphoric interpretation and classification. The hunting treatises also impose a distinctive order on the creaturely universe, but it is an order sustained by the physical, material performance of noble authority rather than by God's creative Word. The treatises delineate a universe that is ordered through ritual structuring rather than taxonomy—through the stylization, mimetic power, and cosmic scale the treatises ascribe to the most celebrated kind of aristocratic hunting, the all-day hunt “with strength of hounds.”

This chapter explores “ritual” as a descriptor for the kind of hunt the treatises value most, the hunt *à force* (*with strength*), concentrating on treatises by three men known to have been expert in hunting: William Twiti, huntsman of Edward II (writing or dictating ca. 1325); Gaston de Foix (writing or dictating 1387–89); and Edward of Norwich, second Duke of York (translating and modifying Gaston's treatise, ca. 1410).³ I emphasize works by known practitioners in the conviction that their treatises correlate in some measure with their practice in the field, although their practical knowledge does not guarantee that their texts depict “what happened” at every turn. The more accurate assumption, given their mixed goals of instructing, reporting, and commenting, is that the treatises reveal how these noble hunters conceived the ideal hunt and what they believed its value and significance to be. The ritual potential resides at this intersection of beliefs and performance, when gestures are understood to be heavy with meaning, and actions to be codified repetitions as well as responses to a present circumstance.

“Ritual” might seem an unlikely analytical framework for an unpredictable chase across miles of country. The hunt *à force* looks more like a “cultural performance,” the category Clifford Geertz so influentially identified in the Balinese cockfight: a performance that encapsulates and models the medieval aristocracy's most profound convictions about itself and its place in creation. Alternatively, this kind of hunting could be discussed as a “game” that combines most of that term's meanings by 1350—an amusement, a pastime with rules, a field sport, and a physically challenging contest. Cultural performance, game, and ritual overlap and co-inform hunting; no single category perfectly fits and accounts for it. John MacAloon analyzes the modern Olympic Games analogously as a nested set of performance types: games (the athletic events) that are incorporated into a ritual (a formal articulation of human unity) that is, in turn, staged as a festival (a recurrent celebration designed for pleasure) that is, at the same time, a spectacle (designed to be watched by a public that is

not performing).⁴ Among all the performance types that aristocratic hunting evokes, I concentrate on ritual. The deep social authority of ritual shapes this kind of hunting into a powerful assertion of noble superiority. Paradoxically, in view of the widely authoritative hierarchy of creatures, this elevating ritual entails intimate contact between humans and lesser animals.

The first three sections of this chapter argue that the hunt *à force* uses the strategies of secular ritual to affirm the rightness of a single social and natural order headed by the aristocracy. The last two sections argue that the hunt's affirmation of aristocratic supremacy involves certain cross-species intimacies that appear anti-hierarchical. Does interacting with hounds, boar, and stag undermine the aristocracy's performance of mastery?

Defining Hunt and Ritual

The hunt *à force*, as described in the treatises, is a highly organized pursuit of a large beast that runs well before hounds, is difficult to capture and kill, has positive symbolic associations, and provides meat that is considered edible. On all four measures, the hart (the red deer stag) is the most favored: he flees a long time before exhaustion; he doubles back, covers his scent in water, and uses other elusive maneuvers; and he stands at bay and fights off his pursuers to the death. Gaston's treatise praises the hart's ferocity in the proverb "after the boar, the physician; after the hart, the bier" ("Après le sanglier le mire, et après le cerf la biere").⁵ Boar are also prized targets for hunting on account of their exceptional ferocity as well as their meat and the long chase they provide. Both hart and boar have strong symbolic value in chivalry, as shown in their frequent appearance on coats of arms and crests, although here too the hart has the edge, through his association with Saints Hubert and Eustace and putative power over poisonous snakes. The boar is fierce to a fault: Edward refers to his "despitous dedis"; Gaston calls him haughty and proud.⁶

English and French hunting treatises agree on the general shape of the hunt *à force*. Details vary, but within a shared conviction that the hunt is a formalized activity for a large following of experts, under the direction of a king or a lesser lord whose hunting park or forest rights enclave land for the specific purpose of hunting. In the hunt *à force*, tracking hounds first locate potential prey, the most favored being the hart in summer and boar in winter. A single, most challenging beast is chosen as the day's prey and pursued on foot and on horseback with the aid of the hounds. A large repertoire

of hunting cries and horn calls communicates to both the hounds and the variously positioned hunting party. For example, Twiti instructs that “after the hart is started, you must blow two motes [horn blasts]. And if your hounds do not come back to you as quickly as you would like, you must blow four motes to hasten the hunting party toward you and to inform them that the hart has been started” (“Vous devez corneer après la moete deus mootz. Et si vos chiens ne viennent mie a vostre volonté si hastivement cum vous vodriez, vous devez corneer quatre mootz pur hastier la gent ver vous e pur garnier la gent que le cerf est meü”).⁷ Chased to exhaustion through all his ruses, the prey is dispatched and then meticulously dismembered in a fashion known to literary scholars from the Tristan romances and *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*.⁸ A reinforcing meal for the hounds and a procession home, sometimes with an ordering specific to the animal hunted, close the event.

The procedures of the hunt à force are not chosen for their efficiency at capturing game. From the purely practical point of view, baited traps, snares, and nets are more effective than stalking and chasing a single hart or boar for as long as he keeps running. Indeed, some treatises include instructions on hunting in more efficient ways, such as the bow-and-stable harvesting of deer; Gaston recommends traps and snares to the old, the infirm, and priests (“deduit d’omme gras ou d’omme vieill ou d’un prelat”); and *Modus et Ratio* recommends them to the poor.⁹ In the context of these other methods of killing game, the hunt à force stands out the more clearly as an ideologically charged event. Practicality is not an issue, any more than it was for the differently structured deer hunt of my Midwestern childhood, on which a few male companions or a father and sons tracked game together, prizing most the proximity they achieved in their quiet pursuit on foot, until the deer was brought down with gunshot or bow and arrow at close range. Historically charged motives informed this kind of hunt, notably the celebration of Native American methods and the mimesis of self-reliant masculinity.¹⁰ In short, there are many ways to hunt that result in killing game; like the hunts of my childhood, the medieval hunt à force carried a quite specific ideological message.

An ideologically informed performance is just one characteristic of ritual. In its classic definition, a ritual is a ceremonial occasion that calls a community together to mark some kind of change. In the process, a ritual invokes sacred forces, or values held sacred by the community; and it recruits all present as active participants. Ceremonial forms frame the ritual temporally and spatially, setting it apart from everyday life and giving it rules or ways of proceeding that make it repeatable and make its unfolding predictable. The

familiar illustration is a wedding, a good illustration because weddings show how variously these requirements of ritual can be met. In the marked space of a judge's chamber, a decorated parlor, or a sanctuary, in a designated and published moment in time, two persons change from being single to being married. The persistent tactic of weddings, and rituals in general, is mimesis: the couple join hands, exchange rings, have their hands bound together, walk together in a set pattern, and / or exchange a kiss to represent mimetically their joining together in marriage. The ritual may invoke the power of a deity or the power of values held sacred such as love and troth. As Moore and Myerhoff observe in their study of secular rituals, "one can imagine a non-religious society, but it is difficult to imagine a society that holds nothing sacred."¹¹ Whether the wedding ceremony invokes a god or an ideal of undying love to sanction the marriage, participants, including the bride and groom, have been known to weep under the symbolic weight of the moment.¹² Further, as is characteristic of ritual, participants at weddings are not just spectators; they are recruited to endorse and certify the marriage. Recruitment occurs through the several roles of the wedding party and wedding guests, for example at the moment so perceptively stressed in *Jane Eyre* when all present are asked if they know of any just cause why the bride and groom may not lawfully be joined together. More pervasively, as Eve Sedgwick argues, every wedding guest undergoes interpellation in witnessing a wedding vow that can take place only in heterosexual terms (in most of the United States): the "subject gets constituted in marriage through a confident appeal to state authority, through the calm interpellation of others present as 'witnesses,' and through the logic of the (heterosexual) supplement whereby individual subjective agency is guaranteed by the welding into a cross-gender dyad."¹³ It is important to keep ritual's ideological coerciveness in mind as the final effect of its more limited practical goals, such as marrying, healing, or consecrating, and its particular tactics, such as framing, stylization, and mimesis.

Is the Hunt à Force a Ritual?

The term "ritual" shows up often in scholarly discussions of medieval hunting. But the focus of these studies is not on ritual per se, and the term typically receives little elaboration. Eve Salisbury calls the hunt à force "highly ritualized," and Dorothy Yamamoto refers to Edmund Leach's argument that game animals get "ritual value" from the rules that control when and how they may

be hunted.¹⁴ William Marvin associates the final stages of hunting to sacrifice, and John Cummins notes ritual formalization: “there was a recognized way of doing everything: formulaic cries, commands, and horn-calls; ritualized ceremonies. The most striking imposition of ceremonial on activities essentially practical came after the death, in the flaying and butchering . . . and in the *curée*, the formal rewarding of the hounds.”¹⁵

Rules of behavior and spoken formulas contribute to the stylization expected of rituals, and there are further expectations for ritual that the hunt à force also meets. It is a framed activity, set apart from the rest of daily life, situated in parks and preserves and regulated by forest law. Hunting has a role for all the participants of various ranks; the chief huntsman shapes the event and the highest ranking lord, ostensibly at least, directs it. All these specifications contribute to the repeatability of hunting: it can proceed in many instantiations along the same lines as it has before. Framing, active participation by a whole group, and repeatability are characteristic of ritual, with the last of these holding a preeminent place. But hunting has elements of unpredictability as well, due to its accretion around a practical effort to kill a wild animal. This practical accomplishment is less susceptible to formalization than marrying a couple or declaring a peace or crowning a king, because the wild animal cannot be as fully recruited to the rules as humans can be. In compensation, the stages of hunting before and after the chase proper are made the more predictable. Specifications for choosing which animal to hunt and for cutting up the quarry and rewarding hounds and hunters are salient, but organizing the return home as a procession is also typical.

Moving from hunting's structure to its purposes, we must recall that typically, rituals make and mark a transformation: undergraduates become graduates, girls become women, enemies become allies, the sick become well. Perhaps the hunt à force has this transformative potential in the sacrificial resonances of the hunted animal's death: shedding blood together and sharing out the animal's body may assuage divisions inherent in the stratification of the hunt's human participants. Religious and secular rituals, however, do not always involve transformation. Some are more intent on affirming and celebrating the identity of a group and its core values: affirming and practicing faith, for example, in religious services such as matins and evensong. An example from scouting and children's camps in the United States is the raising and lowering of the national flag with bugle calls, a pledge of allegiance, and special ways of moving and folding the flag. Similarly, several recent presidential conventions of Democrats and Republicans have worked to affirm

collective values; the parties' nominees have in fact already been chosen in the primaries, but this has not obviated the importance of the nominating convention. To be sure, it does mark a change—the start of the formal campaign period—but primarily the convention generates a message about the identity of a group, and thereby it attempts to change the group's future prospects. As with weddings, the dominant tactic is mimesis: the nominee must be seen to be “presidential”; he is staged with all others deferring to him, praising him, and reiterating that his victory is assured.

The hunt à force is a mimetic ritual designed to celebrate and perpetuate noble authority. This kind of hunting defines a miniaturized cosmos within which noble ability, superiority, and governance are represented. In other words, this kind of hunting surpasses merely being another real-life *instance* of skill, superiority, and governance. Instead, the ritualization of hunting *endorses and validates* noble skill, superiority, and governance. It sets up a performance space in which nobility mimes its own myth of itself.

Hunting as a Mimesis of Noble Authority

The boar hunt à force unfolds this ritual performance of aristocratic validation in a lavishly detailed all-day event. Plausible and to some extent operant purposes of this hunt are to kill boar and come home with boar meat. These goals could be more easily accomplished by building a strong pen with a one-way gate and placing a nice pile of apples inside. Shooting or spearing the penned boar would be as easy as shooting fish in a barrel. Gaston describes such methods, terming them base and ugly, and adding, “I speak of this against my will, for I should only teach how to take beasts nobly and gently” (“mes de ce parle je mal volentiers, quar je ne devroye enseigner a prendre les bestes si n'est par noblesce et gentillesce”).¹⁶ In ritual hunting, it is the process of hunting, not the size of the bag, that counts. Taking boar nobly involves a long chase with a pack of hounds, horn calls, hunter-retainers, and mounted gentry. Figure 6 illustrates the boar hunt from an early manuscript of the *Livre de chasse*: “He will run well from sunrise to sunset” (“Il fuira bien de souleill levant jusques a souleill couchant”), says Gaston; then he will turn and defend himself fiercely, wounding and killing hounds, horses, and men.¹⁷

The ideological image generated by this kind of hunting is no less powerful for its explicitness: the high noble household, under the lord's rule, can dominate the fearsome and adversarial realm of beasts. The hunt à force is



Figure 6. Boar hunt à force. Gaston Phebus, *Livre de chasse*. Paris, BnF MS français 616, folio 73r. By permission of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

particularly appropriate for ritualization because of its deliberate production of danger (again, in contrast to other medieval hunting practices such as netting and trapping). Contact with wild species in hunting was widely represented as perilously destabilizing; a well-known example was the madness that afflicted Pierre de Béarn, Gaston's half-brother, after killing a bear.¹⁸ Ritual often involves invoking a danger in order to show it overcome within the event's controlled framework. Hazing during rites of initiation is a broadly cross-cultural example; dubbing calls for a flat-sided sword blow during the initiation of a new knight. The hunt's danger is substantial, but it is to some extent managed through the long chase that wears down stag and boar before they are dispatched. The hunt's danger makes it appropriate for aristocratic performance and leadership. "It is great mastery and a fine thing to know how to kill a boar with a sword," Gaston exclaims ("c'est belle maistrise et belle chose qui bien scet tuer un sangler de l'espee").¹⁹ He particularly admires a boar kill executed from horseback, although he cautions that it is a dangerous method.²⁰ The value he assigns this method recalls the commonplace that hunting prepares knights for war by testing their courage and horsemanship.²¹ The requirement that ritual hunting test courage inspires the instruction that the boar at bay should be urged to charge with shouts of "Avant, mestre! Avant!" (Come on, sir! Forward!)²²

The hunt's conspicuous consumption of resources further mirrors the noble life more generally—its large households, its lavish accouterments, and the grand scale of its entertainments. In order to produce a mimesis of social hierarchy and noble authority over animal life as a whole, hunting must be a complexly staffed operation that unfolds in an orderly way. Riding to hunt is appropriate for the gentle participants, and this may be why beasts that run well are favored targets, even the comparatively scrawny fox. The privilege of elevation on horseback is furthered by requiring lesser members of the hunting party to manage the pursuit on foot. Figure 6, like all this manuscript's depictions of the hunt à force, differentiates the hunting party into a more powerful group on horseback and a lesser group on foot with the hounds.

All these tactics prepare for Sedgwick's ritual interpellation: every member of the hunt not only *has* a role in its performance of social difference, but also is *confirmed* in that role and must *accede* to that role, or violate the rules of the chase. Thus the hunt à force both expresses and expands the honor of its noble participants: the *Chace dou cerf* begins, "this sport is so sovereign that any king, or count, or even Gawain, if he lived and loved it well, would gain honor for it" ("Li deduiz est si souverains / Qu'i n'est rois, ne cuens, ne Gauvains, /

S'il estoit vis et bien l'amoit, / Qui plus honorez n'en cerroit").²³ The expansion of honor happens both through the hunt's occasions for courage and through the hierarchical arrangement of roles in the hunting party. James Howe comments on the latter point in his study of modern hunting: "In reference to the ritual of fox hunting, I would argue that it is less a manifestation of a prior consensus than a means by which people are persuaded to consent to the social hierarchy, or if they cannot be entirely persuaded, a means by which they can be induced to give conventional signs of assent."²⁴ In the boar hunt illustration from Gaston's *Livre de chasse* (Figure 6 above), those on foot are endorsing their subordination by acting it out with every step—whether or not they would endorse it in principle.

And finally, this mimesis of noble supremacy celebrates the subordination of a realm that is both social and natural. In fact hunting preserves were not fully "natural" spaces, but the treatises do not dwell on their managed and contained aspects.²⁵ Today's readers of the vigorous all-day hunts in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* rarely recall that Bertilak's hunting ground is a walled park just two miles in circumference.²⁶ For the hunting treatises as well, the preserve and the park can represent untamed nature. Supplementing its engagement with nature on the ground, the hunt à force is designed to last from sunup to sundown. Matching the hunt to the sun's course "imitates the rhythmic imperatives of the biological and physical universe," to quote Moore and Myerhoff again, "thus suggesting a link with the perpetual processes of the cosmos."²⁷ The treatises further evoke cosmic design by marking seasons for hunting, and especially by instantiating human dominion over the created world, in keeping with God's plan for humankind.

Here Gaston, the most eloquent of the great hunters who wrote treatises, differs in his expression of human dominion from Henri de Ferrières, the most cerebral and allegorizing of the treatise authors. Henri's *Modus et Ratio* endorses the familiar binary in explaining that God "created two kinds of animals, ones that he called human animals, and the others were called dumb animals, and they were called dumb because they had no knowledge of the Creator" ("Dieu . . . crea deulz manieres de bestes, les unes que il apela bestes humaines et les autres furent apelees bestes muez, et furent dites muez, pour ce que il n'ont point de connoissance du Createur").²⁸ Gaston has a contrary habit of asserting that animal natures are on a continuum with human natures—not identical to be sure, but somehow mutually illuminating. Of the belling of stags in rut, Gaston writes that stags "sing in their language, as does a man deep in love" ("chantent en leur langaige, ainsi comme fet un homme bien

amoureux"); of stags' capacities he writes, "some are more wise and clever than others, just as with men, of whom one is wiser than another. And this comes to them from the good nature of their father and their mother and from good lineage and good nurturing and a good birth under good constellations and celestial signs: this is the case for man as for all other beasts" ("plus sachanz et malicieus les uns que les autres, ainsi comme des hommes, que li uns est plus sages que l'autre. Et ce leur vient de bonne nature de leur pere et de leur mere et de bonne engendreüre et de bonne norriture et de bonne naissance et en bonnes constellations et signes du ciel, et cela est en homme et en toutes autres bestes").²⁹ In the context of his treatise as a whole, there is no mistaking such remarks for egalitarian thinking about cross-species relations; rather, Gaston finds continuities to be entirely compatible with his own authority and superiority. The effect is a consolidation of power rather than a concession: inflecting animal natures with analogies to human nature, Gaston coordinates his dominion over animals with dominion over his followers.

A salient aspect of the hunt à force complicates its performance: it brings the lord of the hunt into association with lower animals. When a complete earthly hierarchy is posited, with hunters closely engaging wild and tame beasts, intimacy is potentially abasing. Two kinds of contact appear risky in this regard: talking to hounds and making physical contact with the hunted stag or boar.

The Human-Hound Partnership

Hunting treatises recognize that, although hounds are much better at tracking game than humans, they can learn to hunt on behalf of humans and in the ways humans designate for them. What a triumph of training that a deer hound can learn not to chase just any red deer, not the one that might be straight ahead and a sure thing, but only the great hart chosen at the beginning of the day, who must be pursued through all his evasions even at the risk of getting no quarry at all! Cries and whips together recall this lesson. Edward instructs that if the hounds change from pursuing the chosen hart to a lesser target, "they should be got in front of and scolded and well lashed" ("thei shuld be fallen afore and asc[r]ied and wele lashed").³⁰ Gaston recommends carrying a switch about two and a half feet long for striking "one's servant or one's hound, as needed" ("une verge qui doit avoir deux piez et demi de long. . . on fiert de ce baston . . . a son vallet ou a un chien quant mestier

est”).³¹ The hounds’ subordination reinforces the hunt’s mimesis of a social and natural hierarchy. On the other hand, as the double use of Gaston’s switch suggests, the integration of hounds and hunters in the task of hunting is so thorough that humans are in some ways not distinct from, and not distinctly superior to, the hounds.

The hunt à force depends on cross-species communication between hounds and humans. Horn calls combine short and long notes with silences between. Twiti’s treatise consistently illustrates that both hounds and human hunters are instructed by horn calls. For example, if a hart being steered toward archers passes out of the boundaries set up in advance for his path, he would “blow in this manner: a mote and then repeat it, *trorourourout, trorourourout, trorourourout, trorourourout*. . . to bring near me the men who are all around the hunting field, and to call back the hounds who have passed beyond the boundary” (“corneer en ceste manere un moot e pus rechater *trourourourout, trourourourout, trourourourout*. . . de aver les gentz que sunt entour la chace a moy e rechater les chiens que sunt passez hors de bounde”).³² From the other side, the treatises agree that the hounds’ barks and bayings are meaningful to humans: “the good huntsman must know and listen for the cries and voices of his hounds, especially of the good and wise ones,” Gaston recommends, in order to get information from them about what they are scenting (“le bon veneur doit cognoistre et entendre les gueles et menees de ses chienz, espiciaument des bons et saiges”).³³ *La Chace dou Cerf* similarly assumes that information is passed back and forth between species:

Se tu oz c’ons chiens le destorne,
A çaus qui ne l’auront oï
Dois parler, se saches de fi,
Et lor dois dire assez, non po:
Ta ça ta ça ta ho ta ho!

If you hear that one of your hounds has gone back to the correct track, you must speak to the hounds who have not heard him, saying to them over and over, “Ta ça ta ça ta ho ta ho!”³⁴

Hunting cries are the most puzzling element in this cross-species communication system. They are curiously verbose and obscure at the same time. Twiti’s treatise in English provides this cry, typical in its elements, to hounds who have gone off the correct scent and need to be started again on the scent

of the chosen prey: "And if yowre houndes chase the hare or the hert and the houndes be at defautt, ye shal say in this maner then 'sohow, hossaine, hossaine, stou, ho ho sa, hossaine, ariere, hossaine, sohow.'" ³⁵ What can this mean? "Hossaine" and "ariere" are French words that credit the hounds with verbal comprehension: first to "go back," "ariere," and more complexly, to hear in "hossaine" the information that they could be whipped if they do not go back: "hossaine" is one of the French terms for the switch Gaston recommends using on servants and hounds. ³⁶ Crediting hounds with some word recognition is reflected as well in injunctions to use their names when speaking to them: "the lymner ay tyl his hounde be falle inne agein shal speke to hym callyng his name, [be it] Loiere or Bailemond or Latymere or Bemond." ³⁷

Alongside the French and English vocabulary that informs the hounds, and alongside addressing each one by name, two- and three-syllable collocations such as "so how," "ho ho sa," "ta ça," and "ci va" are highly characteristic of hunting cries. In some cases it is clear that these are contracted versions of meaningful phrases such as "par ci il va" (he goes this way), which becomes "ci va," and "veëz le ci aler" (see him going here), which becomes "veci" or "velci." ³⁸ Particularly in England, such collocations seem to make sense as degenerate or corrupted Anglo-French phrases, inaccurately recalled by English speakers. ³⁹ A second explanation for these contractions, compatible with corruption, is that "so how" and "veci" are elitist: precisely as they lose their general referentiality, they confer prestige and contribute to the mystification of aristocratic hunting. ⁴⁰ These explanations are plausible, but they cannot account for all aspects of the cries' history. First, the condensations typical of hunting cries appear not only in English but also in continental French treatises, where language capacity is not in decline. Such condensations appear even in the earliest French treatise, *La Chace dou Cerf*, suggesting that they functioned in some way prior to appearing esoteric. ⁴¹ Second, prestigious as it may be to preserve French-sounding commands in English treatises, in fact the English treatises often translate the cries, or parts of them, into English versions. ⁴²

A different linguistic process can better account for the hunting cries' characteristics than either "corruption" or "elitism." In my view, hunting cries adapt French and English to communicate with nonspeakers. In the analogous, widely recognized registers of "baby talk" and "foreigner talk," linguists have shown that babies and foreign-language speakers are credited with little or no knowledge of syntax and grammar, but with the ability to associate a few vocal sounds with meanings. Tactics for communication with them most

often try simplification and repetition. Think of the tourist in Berlin saying to a taxi driver, not “we’re going to the airport,” but “airport, airport” hoping that simplifying the message and repeating it will do the trick. The same tactic works with dogs, indeed even better than with a German taxi driver, since dogs are not expecting to hear “flughafen” in place of “airport.” Augustine of Hippo noticed this canine advantage, remarking that the diversity of languages makes one more comfortable with one’s own dog than with a foreigner.⁴³

The hunting calls resemble “foreigner talk” and “baby talk” (or “parenthese”) in several ways. Like baby talk, the cries rely heavily on consonant-vowel combinations (to *cy va* and *veci* compare mummy for mother, bubba or daddy for father, tummy for stomach, wawa for water). At the same time, as for foreigner talk, the calls use a reduced repertoire of ordinary words such as “ariere” and “hossaine” in virtually syntax-free constructions, removing copulatives, pronouns, and definite articles. Speaking to a tourist inquiring “Louvre? Louvre?” a Parisian might respond not with “prenez la deuxième rue à gauche” but with “deuxième, à gauche,” with gestures to help communicate the message. Equivalent simplifications abound in baby talk, such as “dolly pretty” for “the doll is pretty” and “mommy bye bye” for “mother is leaving.”⁴⁴ Reinforcing foreigner talk with gestures is equivalent to the waving and touching that accompanies baby talk, meant to convey meaning with limited verbal resources. Hunting cries analogously communicate with hounds through simplification, repetition, and the unmistakable gesture of those whips.

Gaston urges the hunter to “speak to his hounds in the most lovely and gracious language that he can, which would be long and complex to write down, especially when they are tired, or are far behind, or in bad weather. . . . Huet of Vantes and the lord of Montmorency have the most handsome language and excellent sounds [*consonances*] and good voices and fine handsome ways of speaking to their hounds” (“il doit parler a ses chienz dou plus bel et plus gracieux lengaige qu’il puet, les quieulx seroyent longs et divers pour escrire, espiciaument quant ilz sont las ou ilz chascent de fort longe ou par mau temps. . . . Huet des Vantes et le sire de Monmorenci orent de trop biaux lengaiges et trop bonnes consonances et bonnes voiz et bonnes manieres et beles de parler a leurs chienz.”)⁴⁵ Gaston’s term “consonances” for the “sounds” of hound talk introduces one last element that relates it to baby talk: intonation. A more accurate translation for “consonances” would be “harmonies,” except that we do not often think of speech as musical. Gaston appears to say that a distinctive intonation characterizes “hound talk.” A distinctive intonation also characterizes baby talk: the sing-song, slowed down rhythm that helps infants

distinguish phonemes and words more easily than if they hear ordinary adult speech patterns.⁴⁶ Possibly a similar boost to comprehension inspires what Gaston calls the “harmonies” of speech to hounds, particularly given the outdoor distances over which its words must carry.

Does the dependence of the hunt à force on hounds for success, and its cross-species “hound talk,” undermine its mimesis of noble superiority? The familiar answer would be that when Gaston and Edward praise the “noblesse of houndes,” they enhance the symbolic status of canines in order to make human contact with them less abasing.⁴⁷ This is a compelling analysis, one that Howe defends for modern foxhunting.⁴⁸ Instead (or simultaneously) a reverse explanation is possible: that contact with hounds, *in their status as beasts*, is compatible with and even necessary to the ritual program of celebrating noble authority. In contrast to more familiar performances of authority such as a royal entry, the Court of Chivalry, or a holiday feast, ritualized hunting displays how well lordship operates both in and beyond human society—how completely the hunting party can understand and manipulate its natural world. At this point, I need to revise my earlier description of the message of ritual hunting (noble control over the social and natural world) to specify that “control” entails an *informed mastery* of the natural world, not just its violent domination. The importance of knowing and understanding wild creatures helps explain why Twiti, Gaston, and Edward would choose not only to hunt but to compose books about hunting. In these books they display their knowledge of the rules and terminology of hunting, but also their extensive knowledge of animals’ habits and behaviors. In the end, it is the remarkable accessibility of hounds, not their subordinate status but the degree to which humans can communicate with them and hunt in their company, that guarantees their prominence in this social ritual about knowing and interacting with animals.

Contact with Hunted Animals

Another potentially abasing element in the hunt à force is making physical contact with the hunted beast. Their deaths cannot confer much honor in comparison to the death of a worthy human adversary. To some extent, their deaths are magnified through the various symbolic elevations traced above. In addition, animal death accrues worth from a quite different register, that of sacrifice. The hunt à force evokes sacrifice in fragmented and secularized form,

but its staging of animal death repeats several tendencies of sacrificial rituals around the Mediterranean and into the Roman Empire, such as consolidating a group's identity in relation to the ordering of the cosmos, consolidating that identity through the formalized killing and dismembering of an animal, and staging the hunt as an "efficacious representation"—a mimesis akin to those of the weddings and peacemakings discussed earlier in this chapter. In this case the hunting party's formally specified methods of killing and dismembering the quarry represent and perpetuate their lord's or king's meticulous, meritorious control over nature.⁴⁹ Ritual transformation takes place as the animal's death, the noncriminal killing of the nonhuman, consolidates the hunting party in their success at facing danger and death together. The effect of cohesion around the noble lord continues beyond the hunted animal's death in the distribution of cuts of meat. Certain portions are due not only to the lord and huntsmen but the hounds and crows as well, again extending the ritual's organization outward to encompass the hunting environment as a whole.

Some scholars exclude hunting from sacrificial expressions because the sacrificial animal classically shows assent to its own death by kneeling or nodding or mere lamblike passivity, but such attitudes of assent are not the only way to fulfill the ritual convention that the animal's death is a celebratory event that confers no guilt. The ancient ritual declaration "it is not I who kills you" serves the purpose equally well, as do the general premise that animal killing is licit and the proverbial agreement that hunting is "war without its guilt."⁵⁰ These ideological operations and the instrumental value of animal sacrifice for consolidating human community and authority cannot finally obscure the violence and the peculiar illogic of the sacrificial operation.⁵¹

In the most curious threat to the hierarchy that typically pertains between humans and animals, several treatises specify that huntsmen should present the droppings or "fumets" of potential animals to hunt during a breakfast assembly in the forest, so that the high-status hunters may choose which hart to pursue that day.⁵² Figure 7 illustrates this moment from the Paris manuscript of Gaston's *Livre de chasse*: in an otherwise orderly scene (with horses enclosed, quivers stowed in the trees, high and low seating for gentle and common participants, patterned napery and decorously served dishes), a huntsman moves in from the left to spread a stag's droppings on the tablecloth like so many *amuse-bouches*. The gentle hunter seated at the far right gestures toward another set of fumets in front of him, and displays a few on his right palm.⁵³ This ceremonious examination of fumets at the breakfast table is a curious violation of bodily hierarchies and social prohibitions on excrement. Mary

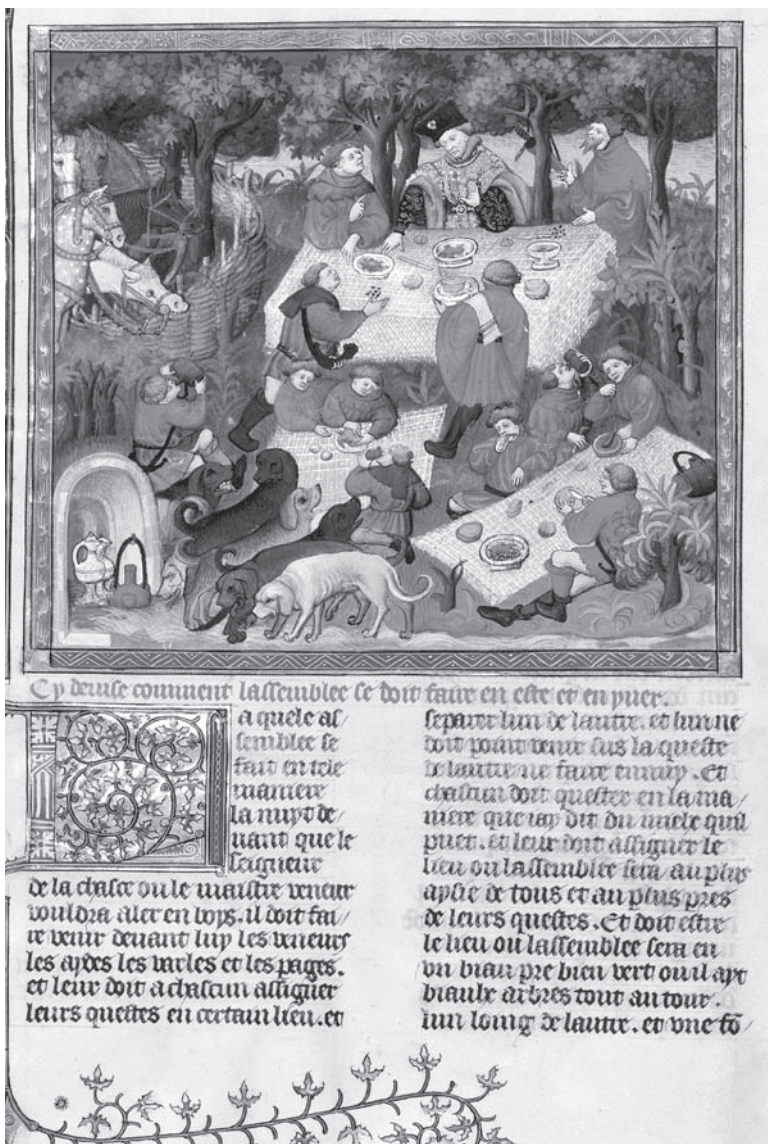


Figure 7. Hart hunt breakfast. Gaston Phebus, *Livre de chasse*. Paris, BnF MS français 616, folio 67r. By permission of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

Douglas's discussion of dirt as "matter out of place" comes immediately to mind: certainly the ordinary medieval practice is to keep excrement off the dining table.⁵⁴

Why does noble hunting celebrate this contact with the hunted animal that would ordinarily seem debasing, even polluting? As for the hounds called "noble," the conventional answer could be that the hunted animal is symbolically elevated. A first source of elevation is the cultural distinction between wild and domestic animals. The marauding sow depicted in Chaucer's temple of Mars, "the sow munching the child right in the cradle," is a terrifying creature of chaos and violence, just as vicious as any wild boar, but not a worthy object of hunting because of her domesticity as well as her sex.⁵⁵ Wild animals are free of prior subordination to human will, suffused with a challenging alienness, metaphorically akin to a noble adversary in battle: recall that the boar should be urged to charge with the honorific title "mestre," as if he were a man of standing. In addition, as noted above, wild animals in ritual hunting are elevated through ceremonial treatment. In the wider culture, butchers have low social status because they deal with animals' dead bodies. In hunting, the exceptional formality of butchering the quarry has a literary master in Tristan, and the treatises praise it as an exemplary performance of "wodcrafterz": that term, specifying the woodland location, helps distinguish cutting up boar on hunting from butchering domestic pigs in town.⁵⁶

Elevating the hunted animal through symbolic and ceremonial treatment reinforces the hierarchizing message of hunting, but here again, elevation cannot fully explain how contact with animals is validated in this kind of hunting. At the moment of cutting up the quarry, in addition to the difference between woods and town signaled in the term "woodcrafts," the second half of the term, "crafts," carries weight as well: knowledge and expertise characterize the kind of control over animals that is being celebrated. Those fumets on the breakfast table call again for an expanded definition of the ideological program of hunting as noble mastery of wild creatures *through masterful understanding of wild creatures*. There is a great deal to know about fumets. According to the treatises, the diet, size, sexual activity, and general health of a hart can all be read there as in a book.⁵⁷ And so fumets on the breakfast table, as bearers of occulted information, are not contaminating "matter out of place"; they have a place in expressing the authority of those who know how to parse them.

The hunt à force is structured so as to assert and act out the rightness of noble domination in the human social hierarchy, in analogy with the rightness of human control over animals. The stratification inherent in this mimesis of

social and natural hierarchy can mislead us into seeing its animals simply as subordinate creatures to be dominated, or at best as symbolically elevated performers in a demonstration of human supremacy. More accurate to the roles of the hounds, the hart, and the boar is recognizing that the ritual hunt needs to establish persistent, intimate contact with them. Of course, it also needs some of them to end up dead. But from sunup to sundown before that ending, the hunters' proximity to animals demonstrates the knowledge and understanding that make their domination of animals appear fully human: rational as well as courageous, and hierarchical in keeping with creation's hierarchy.

Chapter 5

Falcon and Princess

The noble hunt's ritual and the bestiary's taxonomy imagine capacious systems for cross-species relationship. Taking such a wide view of creation entails ordering and judging creatures by groups and species rather than one by one; the emphasis in system-making falls on prescribing and proscribing and not on the nuances of a single case. My last chapters turn away from taxonomic and ritual impulses and back toward the cohabiting of my first two chapters. Like the cat and scholar, raven and saint, and wolf and man, relationships struck between two significantly different creatures preoccupy these next chapters. My opening chapters pondered how animal encounters were imagined to shape households and environments as they shaped human selves and faiths. These next chapters also treat intimate one-on-one relationships, but now the relationships are ethically problematic, raising questions about compassion, fellowship, and responsibility within and across species. My primary points of reference, Chaucer's *Squire's Tale* and the Auchinleck manuscript's *Romance of Sir Beves of Hamtoun* draw on the genre of romance as a way into thinking about cross-species alliances and the ethical responses they solicit.

Chaucer presents the peregrine falcon of the *Squire's Tale* as richly symbolic, but also as a living bird, raising the issue of species difference and the question of how to respond to this difference—what Chaucer would call difference of “kynde.” For depicting an alliance between a falcon and a Mongol princess, the genre of romance has several facilitating strengths. The genre's appreciation for exotic encounters, its worldly rather than theological commitments, and its easy suspension of ordinary realities allow for presenting contact with animals in positive terms. *Beves of Hamtoun* and *Guy of Warwick*, both cited in *Sir Thopas*, provide typical examples of such contact. The war-horse Arondel is not only Bevis's partner in battle but an independent actor on Bevis's behalf. At one point Arondel is nearly hanged for murdering one

of Bevis's enemies, but Bevis prefers exile with his horse to life in England without him. Bevis names his principal manor after his horse, and he, horse, and wife die on the same day.¹ Guy of Warwick makes an alliance with a lion he rescues from a dragon. The lion follows Guy everywhere, fasts when Guy is ill, and drags himself to Guy's side to die of an enemy's wounds: "His hon-des he gan to licky: That was his love, sikerly." Guy's sorrow nearly splits his heart, and he very soon splits the killer "Fram the heved down to the fot."² In these romances, a powerful animal's devotion reflects well on the hero, and the hero's responding devotion also reflects well on him, even when it puts his life and his patrimony at risk.

The opportunities in romances for thinking about animals come with restrictions on the kinds of thinking they welcome. The genre's discursive and ideological limitations are as evident as its strengths: elite and secular in its orientations, narrative rather than scientific or philosophical in approach, romance is as partial as any other genre. Romance would not endorse the peasant's perspective on a nobleman's hawk, "Ha! that kite will eat a chicken tonight that would have sated my children" ("Ha! fait il, cil huas mangera enquenuit une geline et mi enfant en fuissent tuit saoul!").³ Nor do romances adopt the clear distinctions of patristic and scholastic writing on animals: as Thomas Aquinas puts it, "irrational creatures can have no share in human life, which of its nature is rational, and therefore no friendship [*amicitia*] is possible with them" ("creaturae . . . irrationales non possunt communicationem habere in vita humana quae est secundum rationem. Unde nulla amicitia potest haberi ad creaturas irrationales").⁴ In this dichotomizing spirit, an English sermon condemns a man for weeping not over Christ's sacrifice but over *Guy of Warwick*, "when he came to the place where it dealt with the gratitude of the lion and how it was cut into three."⁵ Closer to romance's sensibilities than official science and theology were pervasive cultural convictions about animals' similarities to humans. Birds were broadly conceived (and, according to Claude Lévi-Strauss, were still conceived in modern France) as making up a society with a metaphoric relation to human society, in which birdsong fills the function of human language.⁶ Each section of the *Squire's Tale* begins by invoking this commonplace of courtly and romantic poetry: all the birds "songen hire affectiouns" at the arrival of spring; the next morning, Canacee understands their songs as she wears her magic ring (V 55, 398–400). Italian and Provençal poets describe birds singing "each in its own Latin" ("ciascuno in suo latino"); and Chaucer writes that Canacee understands her "haukes *ledene*" (V 478), a term for both Latin and language.⁷ The reference to "Latin"

strikes an analogy between birdsong and human speech on the one hand, and Latin and vernaculars on the other. “Hawk Latin” gets its plausibility from the differences among human languages: why not an animal language that is similarly obscure to humans, but similarly functional for its own speakers? The communicative, resourceful animals of romance express, in highly imaginative terms, a widespread conviction that humans and animals share contiguities beyond their mere physicality. These contiguities, like other preoccupations of romance such as chivalry, nation, adventure, and sexuality, deserve scholars’ attention despite the challenge of romance’s peculiar tone, by turns idealizing and critical, committed and ironic.

In scholarly circles this is a good moment for the *Squire’s Tale*. Emerging from a few decades of disrepute as no more than the clumsy utterance of its youthful teller, this tale is looking much more substantial as scholars consider its representations of an eastern kingdom and of womanhood as interpenetrating kinds of difference.⁸ Animal difference interpenetrates these two, I will argue, as the *Squire’s Tale* draws on both romance’s preoccupation with cross-species allegiances and the courtly complaint’s preoccupation with the perils of love: in Alfred David’s memorable phrase, the *Squire’s Tale* is Anelida’s story “recycled—with feathers.”⁹ Some scholars dismiss the issue of cross-species contact in the *Squire’s Tale* by proposing that the female peregrine, the formel, is probably an enchanted princess.¹⁰ This view is neither sustainable nor refutable, given the tale’s irresolution; but whether the formel is or is not *also* a human hardly makes her “kynde” less problematic. Indeed, it redoubles the species question, by taking her to be not only different from Canacee as bird from woman, but divided within herself as woman and bird. Most evidently, she is not simply human within and animal without, since her heart belongs to a tercel, a male falcon, along with her feathers. The question of animal difference could only be dismissed by declaring every bird in the tale no more and no less than human.

Instead, Chaucer presses the species question by installing the peregrine in frameworks of gentility, femininity, and adventure that are central to romance. Her animal difference may seem compromised in her several analogies with the tale’s human characters, but Chaucer’s interest in animals exceeds his interest in their capacity to figure the human. Specifically, the tale’s representation of the falcon is crucial to its representation of difference within human societies, yet the falcon’s species remains salient as Canacee takes pity on her and attempts to shelter her. I divide the question of species difference into three parts, the first concentrating on the peregrine’s symbolic functions, the

second on her relation to the exotic, and the third on her “kynde” and cross-species compassion.

A Symbolic Loop

Naturalists along the eastern seaboard of the United States are elated that several red-tailed hawks are nesting in Manhattan. The species is gradually recovering from high mortality associated with the use of DDT. For the general public, not only species recovery but species prestige makes the hawks’ nests big news. In 2011 at New York University, a nesting pair chose a ledge outside the eleventh floor office of the university president in Bobst Library. The university quickly announced names for the pair that claimed them for NYU: the male hawk was Bobby (for Bobst Library) and the female was Violet (for the university color).¹¹ Reporting a new nest on a 35th-floor ledge of an apartment tower overlooking Central Park in 2006, the *New York Times* quoted the building’s owner, Donald Trump: “I am honored by their choice of my building.” He explained that the hawks honor him by endorsing his eye for real estate: “They know a lot about location.” And there is more than location at issue: we can be certain that The Donald would not feel honored if pigeons nested on his buildings. Yet of the nesting hawks, Trump concluded with pride, “This could only happen to me.”¹²

In medieval cultures as well as today, honor was accrued from association with some animals, and dishonor from association with others. These associations pass the real animal through a symbolic process imputing to it qualities such as nobility or courage, that are then transferred to humans who associate with it. *The Sibley Guide to Birds* notes that the peregrine falcon “has long been considered the embodiment of speed and power. . . . It hunts . . . from high above in spectacular stoops.”¹³ Woodford’s *Manual of Falconry* calls the female peregrine “the most spectacular bird to be employed in falconry,” giving her extraordinary value in this elite and enclaved sport.¹⁴ For her importance in hawking and her showy aggression, medieval writers call her “noble” and “molt cortois et vaillans” (very courtly and brave); in medieval iconography, a bird of prey on the fist conveys high social status.¹⁵ In Canacee’s case, high moral status as well is conveyed through the iconographic association of hawks with Sobriety, the virtue that is Gluttony’s opposite. Part of Canacee’s feminine excellence is reflected in her refraining from the excesses of feasting, early retiring from her father’s feast, and early rising the next day:

She was ful mesurable, as wommen be;
 For of hir fader hadde she take leve
 To goon to reste soone after it was eve.
 Hir liste nat appalled for to be,
 Ne on the morwe unfeestlich for to se. . . (V 362–66)

Canacee's restraint marks her as a superior woman, partly through her attentiveness to appearance: she takes care not to become pale from too much drinking or to appear less than festive from too much feasting. As in so many depictions of courtly women, high virtue and high appearance coincide. Similarly, the falcon on Sobriety's wrist in several fourteenth and fifteenth-century visual representations calls to mind both virtue and virtuous nobility. In the Bedford Hours, a marginal roundel contrasting virtues to vices sets a decorously clothed lady with falcon opposite a shamefully disheveled Gluttony waving a vulgar club to keep others away from the bone she is avidly sucking.¹⁶ Social elevation and correct restraint together distinguish the virtue from the vice. Baudouin van den Abele suggests a connection between Sobriety's restraint and her falcon: the iconography may recall the carefully managed fasting of captive falcons that kept them in top form yet eager to hunt, "aigre" or "sharp," their senses all alert.¹⁷

Of course the sober falcon is a pure fiction: it is falcon keepers rather than the bird's innate virtue that imposes the restraint. Nonetheless, in Sobriety's iconography as in verbal representations of falcons on the wrist, the falcon's attributed meanings ("sobriety" and "nobility") dissemble their arbitrariness in a strategic recursiveness. This "circular loop of symbolic transfer," as anthropologist James Howe calls it, can begin in arbitrary and subjective judgments about which species have merits, but the circularity obscures this founding subjectivity so that it becomes unclear where the assertion of merit originates.¹⁸ The catalogue of birds in Chaucer's *Parliament of Fowls* provides a condensed example in "the gentyl faucoun, that with his feet distrayneth / The kynges hand" (lines 337–38). Is the falcon "gentil" because it is preferred by kings, or is the king's gentility secured by his association with this "noble" and "valiant" bird? When we can no longer answer one way or the other, the symbolic loop neatly closes.

A specific kind of totemic thinking informs this use of birds for marking human status. Lévi-Strauss's reassessment of earlier work argued that the primary usefulness of totemism is not to connect humans to animals, but to make analogies between species differences on the one hand, and human

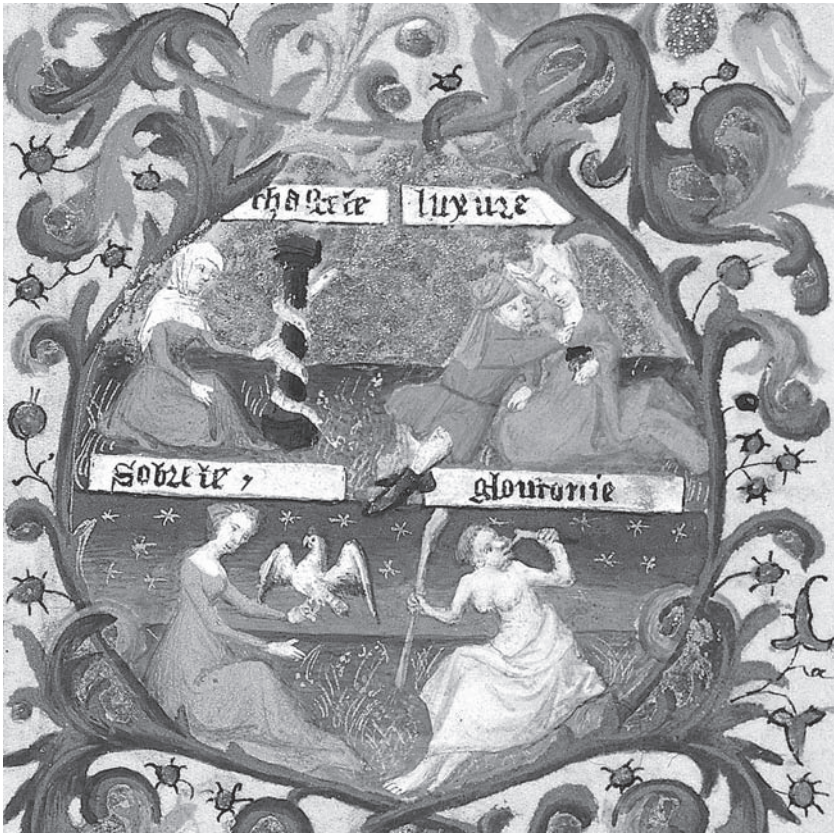


Figure 8. Sobriety with falcon. The Bedford Hours. © The British Library Board. London, British Library, MS Add. 18850, folio 96r.

status differences on the other.¹⁹ Totemic thought explains lineal and social distinctions among humans by reference to species distinctions. The evident difference between sparrows and falcons is recruited to make the difference between peasants and princes look natural. The superior merit of female falcons, called formels, who are larger and bolder than the male tercelles, is appropriate for an adventure illustrating female excellence.

The naturalizing power of totemic thought is certainly in play in the *Squire's Tale*, as well as in Donald Trump's remark that "this could only happen to me." But the *Squire's Tale* is also fascinated by cross-species affinity. Post-structuralist expansions of Lévi-Strauss's work have recuperated totemism's cross-species connections. Its claims are metonymic, not

just analogous. In specific late medieval cases, the blood of a serpent or a swan distinguishes Melusine's and Elias's descendants from other lineages.²⁰ The falcon's first words to Canacee articulate both kinds of totemic connection—both an analogous superiority and a metonymy of hearts—that link woman to bird:

That pitee renneth soone in gentil herte,
 Feelynge his similitude in peynes smerte,
 Is preved alday, as men may it see,
 As wel by werk as by auctoritee;
 For gentil herte kitheth gentillesse. (V 479–83)

Canacee's "similitude" to the falcon is a mutually reinforcing proof of their shared superiority. This symbolic loop is appropriately expressed in the virtually pleonastic "gentil herte kitheth gentillesse." A cross-species connection supplements their analogous excellence in the falcon's assertion that her "gentil herte" is her point of similitude with Canacee. This metonymy of gentle hearts elides the physical difference between princess and peregrine. Hearts connect them if appearances do not.

Metonymy's fragmentary, prosthetic enhancements can have awkward side effects. It's risky using animals to accrue merit to humans. In James Howe's example from modern hunting, foxhounds are said to be the "aristocrats" and "noble animals" of their species, so that their superiority among canines can reflect well on those who hunt in contact with them, but Howe specifies that "the humans involved keep the identification partial and controlled. They do not wish to suggest inadvertently that they eat horsemeat, sniff each others' rear ends, or tear foxes apart with their teeth."²¹ Rather than playing it safe with princess and peregrine, the *Squire's Tale* veers beyond their gentle hearts into their bodily differences. This falcon is superior to all others "as wel of plumage as of gentillesse" (V 426). She grows up not in a palace but "in a roche of marbul gray": the right kind of stone, but oddly undressed into architecture (V 500). She takes her faithless lover's hand just before he flies away (V 596, 605). Why this persistent emphasis on her status as a creature? Her totemic connections to Canacee are only part of the answer. As I have been outlining, the falcon's species difference is crucial to her enhancement of Canacee's status, validating her human merit from beyond the realm of the human. In the second and third sections of this chapter, I suggest that the falcon's difference from humankind comments as well on the category of

the “straunge,” the foreign and exotic, and on the concept of “kynde,” natural species and sympathies.

“Straunge”

Helen Cooper has compared the two parts of the *Squire's Tale* to a chapter from Jules Verne, followed by a chapter from Henry James.²² The first part teems with strange sights and smells, and wonders of science and magic; the second in comparison is intimate, confessional, and reflective. Yet the two parts are also analogues of one another. By keeping the falcon's beak and feathers in view, Chaucer aligns species difference with cultural difference. In each part of the tale, a visitor from afar brings Mongol royalty an unexpected invitation to encounter the “straunge” on adventure. The “strange knyght . . . of Arabe and of Inde” who presents Canacee's father with adventure-provoking gifts is echoed in the “faucun peregryn . . . of fremde land” who presents Canacee with her feminine adventure (V 89, 110, 428–29). Since “peregrine” already means “coming from foreign parts,” adding that she is “of foreign land” is emphatic.²³ The parallels between the tale's first and second parts suggest that the species differences of the latter comment on the cultural differences of the former.

One helpful way of thinking about difference in the *Squire's Tale* has been to notice how well romance serves Orientalism. Briefly evoking this important argument will prepare for moving beyond it. Whether we think of the tale's narrating voice as the Squire's or Chaucer's, its position is unmistakably within masculine courtesy, within Christianity, and well to the west of Tartarye. From this position, the narration tends to represent cultural difference in positive terms, as exotic but finally unthreatening. The Mongol king Cambyuskan keeps an unnamed religious law peculiar to his birth, yet he manifests several virtues conventional to kingship in the West, such as wisdom, mercy, courage, honor, and justice (V 17–27). Of the “straunge” foods consumed at Sarraze, only the familiar delicacies swan and heron are named (V 67–68). The yet more “straunge” Mamluk emissary from Middle India “out-Easts the East,” in Kathryn Lynch's phrase, yet both his decorum and the Mongol court's are said to match perfectly the courtesies of Gawain and Lancelot.²⁴ The tale can look entirely Orientalizing at such points: that is, entirely committed to evoking an eastern strangeness in order to master and incorporate it. Anthropomorphism translates Orientalism into cross-species terms: the falcon is rendered so like a courtly lady that her alien species appears to be accessible and even familiar.

Orientalism and romance have much in common: the genre's very heart-beat is difference encountered and then encompassed so as to enhance the prestige of gentilesse. In romance, whatever might appear alien turns out to be accessible, even as a residual strangeness preserves its special value.²⁵ The feminine is Orientalism's most recurring image for the exotic East, and romance's most characteristic ground for adventure. In the *Squire's Tale*, the narrator's expansive favoring of women both sets them apart and claims to know them, in categorical pronouncements on women: Canacee is "ful mesurable, as wommen be"; her encounter illustrates the "trouthe that is in wommen sene" (V 362, 645). Canacee's Mongol birth doubles her exotic femininity; her intimacy with a falcon redoubles it; and yet their encounter is coded in a familiar courtly idiom of pledges and deceptions, honor and despair.

Chaucer's tale reflects romantic Orientalism, but moves beyond it as well. Sara Suleri Goodyear points out that analysis of literature on India can be constrained when it simply adopts Orientalism's dualities of west and east, center and margin, and its ideology of appropriation and control. Suleri argues that British narratives about India by Kipling, Forster, and others betray some contradictory aspects of India's relation to Britain, such as a decentering inherent in the encounter, a disturbing breakdown of alterity, and a discovery of congruence in the opposing cultures' economies of desire.²⁶ Suleri's argument would question whether romantic Orientalism in the *Squire's Tale* accounts for all its concerns. Just here is the revision that the tale's second part works on the first. It lifts the alterity quotient by shifting from cross-cultural relations to cross-species relations, but it turns from emphasizing alterity to exploding and collapsing it in a tangle of connections, analogies, and migrating sensibilities. Part of the effect is surely to complicate the question of cross-cultural difference, and part of the effect is just as surely to raise the question of cross-species difference. In the *Squire's Tale's* second part, the Orientalized "other" shifts from the eastern to the animal realm. At the same time, differences here proliferate and dissolve, loosening Orientalism's hold on species difference and eastern exoticism alike.

I stressed at the beginning of this chapter that the tale's peregrine falcon, the formel, either is simply not human, or is herself divided between human and bird—and this indeterminate condition is a first refusal of species dichotomy. Another refusal of dichotomy overlaps her language and Canacee's. At first it seems Canacee will need the magic ring, a perfect manifestation of animal orientalizing, a decoder of strange avian meanings. Instead, Canacee and the formel turn out not entirely to need it. The falcon begins by shrieking

rather than speaking: “ever in oon she cryde alwey and shrighthe” (V 417). Yet Canacee “hath understonde what this faucon seyde” before she asks the falcon to explain her cries in words (V 437). The formel’s shrieks preserve a specific peculiarity of hawks: they have no song, but if fowlers do not handle them with caution, they imprint on humans and become “screamers.” Frederick II’s *Art of Falconry* advises on ways to avoid this behavior.²⁷ Chaucer grafts courtly complaint onto peregrine screams, and Canacee “hath understonde” both of them. I have argued elsewhere that the two creatures share a feminine language of embodiment; here I would add that their shared language of embodiment undercuts the magic ring’s dichotomous premise.²⁸

The formel’s cross-species allegiance with a princess joins in her ongoing experience of wrenching redefinitions, which she characteristically figures as interspecies migrations: she is an example for other creatures as the whipped dog is an example for taming lions; her lover is a tiger but one with knees to fall on in fake humility; he is a snake hidden under flowers who longs to eat worms like a captured songbird.²⁹ The caged bird passage is the formel’s fullest expression of her disorientations:

I trowe he hadde thilke text in mynde,
 That “alle thyng, repeiryng to his kynde,
 Gladeth hymself;” thus seyn men, as I gesse.
 Men loven of propre kynde newefangelnesse,
 As briddes doon that men in cages fede.
 For though thou nyght and day take of hem hede,
 And strawe hir cage faire and softe as silk,
 And yeve hem sugre, hony, breed and milk,
 Yet right anon as that his dore is uppe
 He with his feet wol spurne adoun his cuppe,
 And to the wode he wole and wormes ete;
 So newefangel been they of hire mete,
 And loven novelries of propre kynde,
 No gentilnesse of blood ne may hem bynde. (V 607–20)

John Fyler has brilliantly detailed the ways this exemplum’s “tenor and vehicle, number and gender keep reversing and dissolving into each other.”³⁰ The false *tercel* is one of those *men* who love novelty “of propre kynde,” as captive songbirds love worms. The tercel joins humans on the comparison’s literal plane, and the caged bird becomes figurative. Gender distinction cuts at right angles

across the falcon's species conflation. *Men* slides from designating humanity and falcons in general to designate the specifically masculine flightiness of the tercel, the caged bird, and faithless male humans.³¹ Gender difference is more persistent, and more perilous, than species difference.

The queasily shifting distinctions of the formel's desperate complaint run counter to Orientalism, in which "the exotic" is foundationally different, and then appropriated. As the tale's second part comments on the first, difference becomes less secure, and managing it looks less certain. Most notoriously, an unassimilated suggestion of incest (or is it bigamy?) closes the summary of the events to come; further, Cambalo will confuse the formel's dichotomous view of the sexes by siding with her to win back her lover (V 651–70).³² To be sure, romantic Orientalism does mark Canacee and the formel, especially when their affiliation with each other is expressed as their difference from all male creatures. But even as their cross-species affinity exoticizes them, affinity also transcends the species difference that could distinguish them from one another, contributing to the formel's general experience of disorientation. The falseness of male creatures has united them in one dangerous "kynde," leaving her a helpless migrant in a "fremde land." Soon Canacee will attempt a healing reconfiguration of the formel's shattering experience. Now, as the formel faints away in Canacee's lap, her best hope lies in the kindness of strangers.

"Kynde"

A longstanding argument in ethics seeks to determine how we should distribute our compassion. The utilitarian tradition begins from sentience—"can they suffer?" asked Jeremy Bentham—in sorting out which creatures have rights to our care.³³ In utilitarian thought the conflicting claims can get exquisitely subtle, since those who suffer, from philosophers to puppies, offer an inconceivably complex data set.³⁴ More often, ethical traditions restrict the field of consideration to humankind and focus not on rights but on duties or responsibilities. Still they face difficult comparisons: are we most responsible for people most proximate? Do our particular nation, estate, sex, faith, or species have superior claims to those of others?³⁵ Unchecked, the argument from proximity sustains practices that may be thought unappealing, such as misogyny, slavery, and oppression of the poor, so that a countercurrent in ethics presses for extending compassion to all living creatures, or at least to all humans.³⁶ Chaucer finds a different starting point for caring in Boethius's

Consolation of Philosophy. Boethius is not concerned with extending his neo-platonic vision of universal love into the everyday ethics of behavior, but as Chaucer sets Boethian reference points for part two of the *Squire's Tale*, his plot's diachronic, diegetic expression of Boethian love becomes an activated "compassioun." Boethian love, as opposed to rights, duties, and responsibilities, gets around the frustration of moral calculus and the impossibility of perfect responsiveness by asserting that love moves and unites all creation. As Chaucer takes Boethius's universal love into Canacee's garden, compassion reveals itself to be not an intellectual commitment on principled grounds but a matter of acceding to one's true nature. Creation's differences evanesce in universal love, rather than posing problems of how to choose between proximate and distant claims.

"Kynde" encompasses the contradictory pressures in the ethical problem and resolves their contradiction by encapsulating it in a single term. When Canacee swears to help the falcon "as wisly help me grete God of kynde" (V 469), she invokes both the divisions among created things (their kinds and species), and the loving disposition that unifies created things (kindness and benevolence). Boethius's *Consolation* is Chaucer's proximate source for the argument that creation is both diverse and united in love. In the *Parliament of Fowls*, for example, Nature declares to all the birds that the eagle will first choose a mate, because he is the worthiest, "And after hym by ordre shul ye chese, / After youre kynde," that is, according to a hierarchy of species (lines 400–401). The birds' love for their mates, celebrated in the parliament's closing roundel, expresses their "kynde" in its other aspect, reflecting the love that suffuses creation. Boethius explains that the world's "chaungynges" and "contrarious qualites" are bound together in harmony by the same love that "halt togidres peples joyned with an holy boond, and knytteth sacrament of mariages of chaste loves; and love enditeth lawes to trewe felawes. O weleful were mankynde, yif thilke love that governeth hevene governede yowr corages."³⁷ Thus it is doubly appropriate for Canacee to swear by the "grete God of kynde" as she addresses another species, and expresses a bond between them: "Ye sle me with youre sorwe verraily, / I have of yow so greet compassioun" (V 462–63).

Chaucer resists the philosophical clarity of Boethius's position on "kynde." In the *Parliament of Fowls*, the hierarchy of species is not evidently just, despite Nature's endorsement, and the closing song of love only partly counteracts the tensions among species. Boethius, in contrast, praises natural order in his exemplum of the caged bird, which rightly longs for its created place in

the woods.³⁸ Chaucer's two revisions of the caged bird exemplum (the other from the *Manciple's Tale*) place little faith in "kynde" in its sense of natural characteristics. Instead, the caged bird's "propre kynde" misleads it into desiring "wormes and swich wrecchednesse" (IX 171). Mistrusting the "kynde" of physical nature, Chaucer prefers its complement in creation, the lovingkindness that can unite one creature to another. The falcon's opening remark to Canacee, "pitee renneth soone in gentil herte," specifies that her "pitee" is fellow-feeling or empathy:

I se wel that ye han of my distresse
 Compassioun, my faire Canacee,
 Of verray wommanly benignytee
 That Nature in youre principles hath set. (V 483–86)

Canacee's natural compassion for a fellow creature opposes the tercel's natural disposition for "newefangelnesse." Her cross-"kynde" empathy is a remarkable extension of anything in Boethius. For Boethius as for medieval philosophy in general, human compassion expresses God's love *within* humankind.³⁹ Yet the *Squire's Tale* presses its listeners to take Canacee's compassion seriously by setting up a structural parallel between the Mamluk emissary in the tale's first part and the peregrine "of fremde lond" in the second part. The emissary is warmly entertained at court following his presentation of gifts; the falcon is also sheltered at court following her long complaint. Both are shown hospitality, a highly valued practice in romances, but part two raises the stakes on part one.⁴⁰ Kindness, if it truly reflects the love unifying creation, should move across human differences and across species lines as well. The shift from the masculine register of part one to the feminine register of part two renders Canacee's hospitality as a dependent, quite literally diminutive, version of her father's hospitality. Perhaps only this feminine register could entertain a concept so counterhegemonic as cross-species empathy.

Hospitality, in its compassionate welcome to the stranger, expresses the unifying and differentiating tensions of "kynde" in a specific social practice. The stranger is welcomed into a space that is unfamiliar and potentially constraining. This contradiction within hospitality is elided in hagiography, for example in the Lives of Cuthbert and Columba treated in Chapter 1, where the saint's holiness casts its radiance over what might otherwise seem awkward hosting practices. Drying and warming an angel's feet or lodging a crane in a guesthouse are not entirely appropriate to these especially strange guests:

angels' feet do not get cold and cranes do not use houses. Within the terms of hagiography, however, the saint's benevolence and the virtue of his hosting are unquestionable. And yet the contradiction within hospitality between welcome and the always strange conditions of welcome was so salient for Jacques Derrida that he renamed the practice "hostipitality," to recall the discredited but appealing medieval French etymology connecting *hospes*, host-guest-stranger, with *obses*, hostage. The perceived connection between "host" and "hostage" continued from Old French into Middle English.⁴¹ Derrida points out that hospitality's welcome is based in the host's control of the household, so that the stranger enters "the internal law of the host . . . which tends to begin by dictating the law of its language . . . which is to say, its own concepts as well."⁴² Because her strangeness is the precondition for extending hospitality to her, the hosted falls hostage to the strange ways of the host. Derrida wrote primarily in relation to human displacements, but he argued that the limit cases for hospitality would cross beyond the human to hosting divinities or animals: to Lot receiving angels for the night, Noah taking animals on board, and even Jonah's painful sheltering in the whale.⁴³

The second part of the *Squire's Tale* engages the contradiction of hospitality more fully than the first part's enthusiastic Orientalizing. Cambyuskan's hospitality to the Mamluk emissary appears unproblematic, their differences both evident and transcended in a chivalric code linking Mongol, Mamluk, and Arthurian knights in one big brotherhood.⁴⁴ Turning to the most literal aspect of the law of the host that begins "by dictating the law of its language," the emissary speaks "After the forme used in his langage," yet also "withouten vice of silable or of lettre" (V 100–101): the narrator's judgment can accommodate an occulted Mamluk rhetoric as easily as Cambyuskan accommodates the emissary himself. Canacee's hosting would also seem an easy task, not a limit case, since she shares so many qualities with the peregrine. But species difference sharpens the challenge to hospitality.

The little mew Canacee constructs is a wonderfully complex attempt at hosting without taking hostage. It makes a number of false starts, and perhaps never succeeds except in the persistence and resourcefulness of its attempts at cross-species compassion. In size, it recalls the birdcage of the falcon's exemplum, as scholars have pointed out, so that the falcon appears quite radically appropriated, indeed captured and turned into a house pet.⁴⁵ Here we see "the internal law of the host" slide toward taking the guest hostage. If, however, this mew recalls the falcon's exemplum, it must also recall that the falcon imagined the birdcage as a good place, a place of comfort and tender care that the

songbird was perverse to leave behind. Another contradictory image emerges in the overlay of the exemplum's "cage" with the contrasting term "mewe" (V 613, 643). The cage had a "dore" (V 615), but this structure called a mew may not have one, if it resembles a conventional mew with many openings or open sides to imitate the breezy nesting conditions of hawks in the wild.⁴⁶ This unclarity around whether Canacee's "mewe" has a door evokes Derrida's conundrum that hospitality requires and repudiates the door: "It does not seem to me that I am able to open up or offer hospitality, however generous, even in order to be generous, without reaffirming: this is mine, I am at home. . . . For there to be hospitality, there must be a door. But if there is a door, there is no longer hospitality."⁴⁷ Calling Canacee's little structure a "mewe" elides the uncomfortable question of the door, as if to imagine that the falcon can be sheltered without imposing any constraints.

In a further attempt at welcome, Canacee's mew is a miniature bedchamber framed within her own:

And by hire beddes heed she made a mewe
 And covered it with veluettes blewe,
 In signe of trouthe that is in wommen sene.
 And al withoute, the mewe is peynted grene,
 In which were peynted alle thise false fowles,
 As ben thise tidyves, tercelettes, and owles.
 Right for despit were peynted hem bisyde
 Pyes, on hem for to crie and chyde. (V 643–50)

Like the interior walls of an aristocratic bedchamber, the mew has cloth hangings in an emblematic color, in this case blue to signify the falcon's troth-keeping. Imitating the architectural space of her own chamber, Canacee offers the falcon an open equivalence between host and stranger. At the same time, this velvet chamber rather comically ignores their physical differences: is the falcon to recline on a tiny featherbed? The mew is not simply a cage, but neither does it resemble the falcon's native "roche of marbul gray."

The painted exterior of the mew makes a final, double effort at a hosting that transcends appropriation. The outer walls, colored green and decorated with images of false birds chided by magpies, seem to represent the formel's home in leafy nature, acknowledging the falcon's strange origins even as the mew's interior declares her equivalence with Canacee. In relation to one another, interior and exterior attempt a kind of hybrid space poised between

woods and chamber, a space that might express the falcon's peregrinations. Even as it evokes nature, this green is also emblematic, answering the blue of "trouthe" with the color that represents lovers' fickleness.⁴⁸ Now the outer walls not only represent a leafy refuge, they also re-imagine the walled garden in the *Romaunt of the Rose*, painted on the outside with personifications of qualities incompatible with "al the art of love."⁴⁹ Each painted figure expelled from love's garden has its living opposite inside the walls: skinny yellow Sorrow painted outside, dancing elegant Mirth inside; spiteful Villany painted outside, welcoming Courtesy inside.⁵⁰ Canacee transposes the *Romaunt of the Rose* into avian terms in painting "alle thise false fowles" on the outside, and sheltering the faithful formel inside. Most importantly for responding to the formel's plight, Canacee's transposition refuses the conventional metaphoric relation of birds to humans, taking birds instead as the literal subject of a courtly narrative. The magpies' chiding assigns *them* the interpretive voice, in place of the dreaming lover in the *Romaunt of the Rose*.⁵¹ The figurative relation collapses, or runs in reverse, recalling how the formel earlier figured her pain in a series of collapsing alterities.

Canacee's inspired bricolage subsumes prior models of inter-species constraint, birdcage and mew, into an unprecedented structure that is simultaneously human bedchamber, avian tree, and garden of love. In this structure, Canacee moves her relation to the falcon from totemic, symbolic, and allegorical terms toward literal and physical terms. Yes, Canacee's empathy is contradictory. It recognizes species difference and declares it transcended. Holding this contradiction in place, the mew expresses the opposition inherent in "kynde" between differentiation and lovingkindness.

The *Squire's Tale* insists on its parallel between cultural difference and species difference by giving the tale's two parts so many structural symmetries. Hospitality is its optimistic focal point for imagining cross-cultural and cross-species relations. Canacee's awkwardly strange and sheltering mew explores hospitality's tensions more fully than the neat integration of Mamluk emissary into Mongol feast. But I will not conclude by emphasizing how much the falcon reveals about the tale's human protagonists. Canacee's mew distills not only the challenge of hosting a peregrine but also the authorial challenge of composing a romance with avian characters. Both parts of the *Squire's Tale* begin with a chorus of birds singing background music for noble Mongols (V 52–57, 395–400). Chaucer's innovation lies in going on from these conventional openings to depict birds as the protagonists, not just the setting, for a love narrative. I would like to imagine that Canacee condenses Chaucer's

artistic project into her mew. Sitting at her workbench, she says to herself, “As I make this mew, how can I evoke the symbolic associations that give a peregrine her high status? Can I represent both the strangeness and the proximity of another species? As strangeness shifts and slides, can I put a positive spin on the terror of deracination? Can I express compassion for a bird?”

Chapter 6

Knight and Horse

Like Canacee's relation to the falcon, Gawain's relation to his warhorse Gringolet and Bevis's relation to Arondel involve symbolic elevation, compassionate companionship, and moral virtue. The interaction of knight and horse also involves a complexly coordinated material relationship that forms the very foundation of chivalry. Across the medieval written record, the relation of knight and horse is the most densely represented of all cross-species interactions. Yet many publications on the literatures of chivalry make no mention of the horse. I am guilty myself of this neglect: my *Performance of Self* discusses many aspects of chivalric performance, but barely mentions the place of the horse in chivalric identity.¹ To be sure, a vast edifice of social and religious principles takes shape around knighthood in this period, an edifice whose component parts can each lay claim to the term "chivalry." But as Noel Denholm-Young puts the historical situation, "it is impossible to be chivalrous without a horse."² Malory's Sir Lamorak shares this view of chivalry's sine qua non: "What is a knight but whan he is on horsebacke?"³ This chapter delineates the chivalric performance at its etymological and conceptual core—the relationship of fighting man and horse. Knighthood is first of all an embodied performance, a mastering of techniques and technologies that produce the *chevalier*, the *ritter*, the *cavallero* as one who undertakes adventures and combats mounted on a horse.

Characterizations of what it is to be "on horsebacke" vacillate intriguingly between two poles on the broad field of chivalric representation. Sometimes the assemblage of armed knight and horse is presented as a mechanism coordinating multiple bodies and technologies, and sometimes instead as a partnership that attributes courage, nobility, and initiative to both knight and horse. These two versions of knight and horse interpenetrate in many sources. Separating the mechanistic from the interspecies version is not truly accurate

to chivalric thinking, but my discussion will force them apart sufficiently to explore their different stakes and implications. In this chapter's two central examples, Geoffrey Chaucer's *Squire's Tale* seems to produce a fully technologized horse; conversely, the Auchinleck manuscript's *Bevis of Hampton* stresses the affective bond between horse and knight: Bevis spends years winning back his heritage only to give it up again to save the life of his horse. Yet each of these works draws on the full contradictory range of chivalric thought. Both versions of the horse, the mechanistic and the companionate, contribute to presenting knighthood as a privileged status; together their very contradictions envelop in mystery this most fundamental component of knighthood, the relation of knight and horse, protecting it from easy apprehension and critique.

From their differing perspectives, romances, manuals of chivalry, treatises on the horse, and records of breeding and armory provide glimpses of how chivalric milieus understood the interrelation of arms, knight, and horse. Some of my sources consider living equines more fully than their social significations, while other sources consider the horse in more imaginative and figurative terms. For recovering the encounter of horse and knight, it is necessary to take into account both the conceptual field of "noble" and "loyal" horses and that field's material correlatives in the embodied practices of chivalry. The relationship of material practices to conceptions is never simple, but practice is never external to conception, nor does conception float entirely free from materiality. Language and abstract thought can only partly apprehend a cross-species relationship; the physical and practical dimensions of the experience intertwine with its intellectual components.

The forces, creatures, and techniques coordinated in chivalry come together through a premodern process of self-definition. This process, as I have argued at length in *The Performance of Self*, resonates more intriguingly with postmodern conceptions of selfhood than with the autonomous, clearly bounded individual of modernity. In the medieval subculture of chivalry, winning honor (*pris, los, worship, honour, renown*) contributes crucially to defining the self. Chivalric identity resides in performance and its judgment by one's peers. In deeds of chivalry, the knight strives to be enhanced by his weapons and warhorse—to take up more space, in every sense, than he could without them. The ideal chivalric figure coordinates horse and arms in a mobile performance of identity that is not required, as was the modern self, to declare its independence from the material and social world surrounding it. The commingled presence of knight, horse, and arms in chivalry speaks

to Donna Haraway's account of the cyborg absorbing technical elements and animal affiliations so fully that their coordination becomes intuitive.⁴ The mounted knight could also illustrate Cary Wolfe's argument that technologies are enmeshed in human consciousness and furthermore that consciousness, when conceived as defining what is exclusively human, deforms the relationship of the human sensorium to those of other animals.⁵ These postmodern conceptions are at odds with analyses of the knight in which his dependence on his horse amounts to a loss of autonomy and a compromised identity. In the most influential of these analyses, Jeffrey Jerome Cohen argues that because the combination of knights and horses produces "exorbitantly inhuman bodies," chivalry "was always embattled, compromised, dispersed, and as a result was also forever nostalgic for an immutability that it never in fact possessed."⁶ Cohen's emphasis on chivalry's dispersal of identity through arms and animals is revelatory in many respects, but his interpretation that dispersal compromises identity, and that dispersal was experienced as loss, speaks from within modernity's commitment to autonomous selves. In the version often cited from Descartes's Second Meditation, this modern self lived in the mind, skeptical even of its own embodiment.⁷ Postmodern versions of the self embedded in materiality and open to integration with other species of being, both organic and mechanical, would look more familiar to a medieval knight than the free-floating, autonomous self of the Enlightenment.

The Performance of Knighthood

The definitional performance of knighthood was what medievalists call "mounted shock combat." Lynn White's *Medieval Technology and Social Change*, though questioned in many of its details, offered an insight still central to understanding chivalry: innovations such as the stirrup, double-girthed saddle, pommel and cantle, lance rest, breast strap, tester, and plate armor coalesced into a more and more elaborate technology of combat, in both senses of the term *technology*, a set of tools and a set of techniques for using them.⁸ In Maurice Keen's summary, "New tactics and improved technology at each step strengthened the aristocratic bias of recruitment into knighthood, and sharpened in its ranks the awareness of a common bond, called chivalry, uniting all who could aspire to ride in wars and tournaments."⁹ Ian Peirce estimates that producing a high-medieval sword involved about 200 hours of skilled work;

the breeding and training of a warhorse consumed resources and expertise on a still larger scale.¹⁰ Chivalry's organization of forces created the mounted charge of a complexly protected man holding a firmly fixed lance, supporting the forward energy of his blow with the weight and muscle of a galloping warhorse. The blow of the couched lance "was delivered by a combination of the lance, the rider and the horse, producing a far greater impact than a manual thrust ever could."¹¹ Although other tactics, such as the siege and devastating raids through the countryside, were more common in medieval warfare than the pitched battle of mounted knights, the latter held pride of place in the definition of chivalry, together with the tournament melee, the joust, and riding out on adventure, all of which identify the knight with mounted shock combat.¹² For practical as well as imaginative purposes, this formalized, flamboyant, expensive, highly skilled technique constituted the core of chivalric performance.

Within this performance, the knight's horse is inextricably technical, organic, and symbolic. In chivalry's myth of origin, the horse defines the knight by contrast to other men. The most widely circulated treatise on knighthood, Ramón Llull's *Libre del ordre de cavalleria* begins (in Caxton's translation of a French version) with a young squire learning from an old hermit that "at the beginning whan to the world was comen mesprisyon [lawbreaking]," the best man in each thousand men was chosen to restore and defend justice:

And after was enquired and serched / what beest was moost covenable
moost faire / most couragious and moost stronge to susteine travaille /
and moost able to serve the man / And thenne was founden / that the
Hors was the moost noble / and the moost covenable. . . . For after the
hors whiche is called Chival in Frensshe is that man named Chivaller
whiche is a knight in Englissh / Thus to the moost noble man / was
given the moost noble beest.¹³

Here from chivalry's birth, the horse's physical contribution to the fighting man's mobility and force contribute as well to his authority and high standing. Such symbolic weight antedates medieval chivalry by many centuries: illustrating the world gone wrong, Ecclesiastes laments, "I have seen servants upon horses, / And princes walking on the ground as servants" (Eccl 10:7). The affront to privilege is indissociable from the physical distinction between walking and riding: to walk is to move as a servant moves; to ride is to be

elevated both physically and conceptually above the rank of servant. From the high Middle Ages, Jordanus Rufus begins his treatise on training and doctoring horses with a similar observation: "No animal is more noble than the horse, since it is by horses that princes, magnates and knights are separated from lesser people, and because a lord cannot fittingly be seen among private citizens except through the mediation of a horse."¹⁴ As with Canacee and the peregrine falcon, a symbolic loop conjoins and constitutes the "nobility" of knight and horse.

The noble horse of chivalry reverses philosophical and religious traditions that associate the horse with the passionate body, in metaphors dating back to the Pauline "homo duplex" and Plato's *Phaedrus*. If the mounted knight is to be maximally elite, chivalric ideology must work against the religious metaphor's devaluation of the horse. From within the religious tradition Saint Gregory writes, "indeed the horse is the body of any holy soul, which it knows how to restrain from illicit action with the bridle of continence and to release in the exercise of good works with the spur of charity."¹⁵ In this metaphor the horse-body is importantly at odds with the rider-soul, the latter vigilantly resisting the horse-body's base impulses and reforming its sinful proclivities. In the chivalric counter-tradition, one strategy for resisting the horse's abjection is to re-metaphorize the horse to express chivalric virtues. The *Ordene de chevalerie* proposes that the spurs in the knighting ceremony signify that God desires the knight to serve him just as the knight desires the horse to respond to his commands.¹⁶ In a similarly positive image, Caxton aligns the horse's tester (armor for the head) and the horse himself to the knight's faculty of reason: "To his hors is given in his hede a testiere to signefye that a knight ought to do nonne armes without reason / For like as the hede of an hors goth to fore the knight / Right soo ought Reason goo to fore all that a knight doth."¹⁷

Another strategy for elevating the merit of warhorses is to concede the inferiority of most equines, mapping the social order onto the species as a whole and claiming high status only for those animals specially bred for mounted combat. The male destrier and courser are the aristocrats of their species; other kinds of horse are more or less inferior—to name only a few, the hackney and palfrey for lighter riding, the stor and affer for plowing and pulling, the ambler for women riding sidesaddle.¹⁸ In the *Roman de Perceval* of Chrétien de Troyes, Gawain is reduced to riding a rouncy ("roncin," workhorse) when his famous Gringolet is stolen. A cruel maiden taunts him that only riding a mare could be worse:

Car fust ore li ronchis ive
 Que l'escuier tolu avez!
 Je le volroie, ce savez,
 Por che que plus i ariez honte. . . .
 Or seez vos sor bon destrier,
 Or samblez vos bien chevalier
 Qui pucele doie conduire.¹⁹

Now if only the rouncy you took from that squire were a mare! I wish he were, because that would be even more shameful. . . . Now you're seated on a fine destrier, now you really look like a knight who should be leading a maiden.

A knight "should be leading a maiden" on adventures through unforeseen dangers. In chivalric narrative, the knight's foremost expression of his sexuality is in protecting women from harm and winning (or not) women's love in return for courageous combat. His expression of sexuality is associated, in the maiden's remarks, with the importance of riding a "destrier" rather than a mare, presenting the destrier, a stallion of exceptional strength, as a representation or even a guarantee of the knight's own sexuality.²⁰

But the cruel maiden's taunt points to more than appearances and symbolics. The low-bred rouncy's description deals fairly quickly with his long ears and thin neck to stress instead his practical limitations: he is "trotant et sot," a slow mover and stupid; he is difficult to ride because so rough-gaited, and he is badly tacked with stirrups too flimsy to be trusted.²¹ He is a material liability for adventuring across country, and will be a worse liability in combat. To win Gringolet back, Gawain will show immense strength in meeting the thief's charge on Gringolet from the back of the standing rouncy, without the mechanical advantage of the charge to reinforce his blow.²² "If only the rouncy were a mare": returning again to the symbolic register, the cruel maiden's taunt may sound depressingly familiar: interpellated in the sexual hierarchy, she voices this commonplace that the female is, in her very nature, inferior to the male. Returning however to the material register, practical considerations underlie the symbolic importance of mounting a knight on an uncastrated horse, a stallion. Training in European chivalry turned the aggressive tendencies of stallions (and young men) to advantage. Albert the Great records the widespread position that "war horses should not be gelded, for they become timorous and faint-hearted after castration" ("bellicorum autem equorum est

non castrari quia ex castratione efficiuntur timidi").²³ Striking out with forelegs, rearing, biting, and kicking are in the repertoire of stallions guarding their mares from other stallions and predators. These behaviors could offer advantages in the work of combat. Albert the Great continues his description of stallions, "Under battle conditions they show no hesitation in leaping over obstacles and attacking an array of the enemy, biting with their teeth and trampling with their shod hooves" ("horum etiam est dare saltus et irrumperere acies mordendo et calce feriendo").²⁴ Warhorses of epic and romance kick, toss, bite, and trample enemy horses and men.²⁵

In addition to his tactical usefulness in combat, aggression aligns the warhorse with his rider in a passionate partnership. Years of chivalric apprenticeship commingle the lives of youths and stallions, linking experientially and imaginatively their sexuality, aggression, and vulnerability. The cruel maiden's comment "Only a mare could have shamed you more" evokes this affective register in which stallion and knight are similar. "Knights have not been chosen to ride an ass or a mule," writes Gutierre Díaz de Gámez; "they have not been taken from among feeble or timid or cowardly souls, but from among men who are strong and full of energy, bold and without fear; and for this reason there is no other beast that so befits a knight as a good horse."²⁶ Horses are conceived not just as material assets but as resourceful allies, bold and fearless like their knights. Although the latter conception may appear naively anthropomorphizing, I will defend its effort to represent the consciousness of equines.

Chrétien's account of Gawain losing Gringolet and riding instead a workhorse evokes a cluster of meanings for the warhorse that recur across the genres committed to promoting chivalry. First, warhorses have high symbolic status, such that their nobility among equines reinforces the high social status of knighthood. In addition, and more intriguingly for my purposes in this chapter, Chrétien's *Perceval* evokes the oddly dichotomous presentation in chivalric writing of how to understand a mounted knight. In this assemblage, on the one hand, the stallion is a piece of equipment expertly bred, trained, and managed to enhance the knight's capacities; on the other hand, he is a servant and companion, sharing qualities such as courage and loyalty with the knight. In both the technological and the affective valences of knighthood, the castrated horse (the gelding) and the mare would be less consonant with a knight's physical performance than the stallion. The following sections of my discussion treat the warhorse's status as equipment and then his status as companion, as if they could be disengaged from one another. It will become

evident, however, that the companion horse can still be objectified as a product of technology, whereas the technologized horse, even its limit case in the brass horse of Chaucer's *Squire's Tale*, still glimmers with life.

The Mounted Knight as a Technological Achievement

Is a person not a thing? In chapters on "The Thingliness of Persons," Barbara Johnson explores the imbrications of consciousness and bodies, bodies and their props, living persons and puppets. Her discussion of thingliness encompasses bodily substitutes and supplements—but also the very body itself, conceived in modernity as a prosthesis for the will. Deconstructing the effort to locate selfhood only in consciousness, she argues that the body and other apparently extraneous things can get inextricably entwined with consciousness. Something of the self may reside in a representation (Narcissus's image), an object (Pygmalion's statue), a substitution (Ahab's ivory leg). "Prostheses," Johnson concludes, "seem more like reflections of essences and fates than like replacement parts."²⁷ The mounted knight's performance could stand as a pre-modern example of "the thingliness of persons," as the knight accretes both crafted objects and the technological warhorse to his highly trained body. Not yet subject to the strictures of Cartesian dualism that later came to value thought over all the "things" of the sensory world, knighthood can encompass embodiment and materiality in constituting the chivalric self.²⁸

Crafted prostheses, such as a spear's extension of the arm that throws it, seek both to emulate and to supplant the body part. The spear can do a better job of striking and wounding than the arm. Chain mail and plate armor improve on the body's barrier of skin; the sword extends the effectiveness of the fist. Such accouterments are based in the way a body part functions, while also surpassing the body part. They suggest not only that a body is made up of "parts" but that its "parts" have a mechanical aspect, shifting our perception of the body toward the nonhuman. Thus at the same time the knight might appear a superbly enabled man and a combat mechanism. Organic prostheses also shift our perception toward the nonhuman, this time toward not the mechanical but other species. The seeing-eye dog, the seizure dog, the cow pony, and the medieval warhorse are mobilized in consistent, consequential, direct physical contact with a human handler. Such creatures remain alien to the handler in that they must be drawn into service, even as their service has tactile and communicative content that reaches across the species line. I will

defer the question of interspecies communication for a few pages, in order to stress its practical outcome in combat: the warhorse minimizes difference and acts prosthetically by magnifying his rider's intentions.

Warhorse as Mechanism

Well-known rhetorical conventions emphasize the knight's close coordination with his equipage. Arming scenes detail and order an impressive series of pieces buckled, latched, and laced on the knight, one by one, until at last he mounts his horse and lifts his lance.²⁹ Combat scenes typically reverse the process: knights first break lances and fall or descend from their horses, to be rendered step by step more vulnerable, as shields are smashed, hauberks pierced, and flesh sliced. These paradigmatic scenes assemble and dismantle the mounted knight to establish a continuum from body parts to pieces of equipment, and from the destruction of equipment to the wounding of flesh. In the Anglo-Norman romance *Ipomedon*, the structural repetitions of anaphora gather the fragmentations of synecdoche to portray the extravagant smashup of a tournament melee:

. . . meint nafré par mi l'eschine,
 Meint feru par mi la peittrine;
 Meint cheval curt par cel estur,
 Estrair void de sun seignur,
 E meinte lance i ad frossee
 E meinte cele i ad voidee,
 Meinte sambue dessiree,
 De vermeil sanc envolume,
 Meint bon escu tut estroé,
 Pleié meint heaume e enfundé
 Et meint bon hauberk demaillé
 E meint brant furbi pescée,
 Meint peitral rumpu e meint frein
 E meinte cengle e meint lorein,
 Meint arçun fret e meinte sele;
 Meint hume i chet, meint i chancele.³⁰

Many [were] wounded in the back and many struck in the chest; many horses ran about in the conflict with stirrups empty of their lords, and many lances were shattered, many saddles emptied, many saddle cloths

torn and covered in blood, many good shields penetrated, many helmets bent and pierced and many good hauberks unlinked and many bright swords smashed, many breast straps and bridles broken and many girths and straps, and many saddlebows and saddles split; many men fell there and many staggered.

In the logic of this description, chivalric combat is equivalently a matter of organic and inorganic destruction. Verbs for the wounding and felling of men are set in parallel to verbs for the breaking and tearing of their gear; a saddle cloth torn is a saddle cloth bloodied. The grandeur of the occasion lies in its deployment of valuable resources in a performance enclaved by cost, birth, and training; but grandeur lies also in its massive consumption of valuable resources—knights' bodies, arms, and horses—as they are cut apart in the pursuit of honor.

Particularly in scenes of instruction, the technical side of chivalry comes to the fore. The continuum from warrior through equipment appears entirely seamless to Chrétien's young Perceval. An untrained youth who wants to take possession of a dead knight's armor, Perceval cannot even manage to pull off the helmet or unbuckle the sword belt:

Ains avrai par carbonees
Trestot esbrahoné le mort
Que nule des armes en port,
Qu'eles se tienent si au cors
Que ce dedens et che defors
Est trestot un, si com moi samble,
Qu'eles se tienent si ensamble.³¹

Before I can carry off any of these arms, I'll have to chop up the corpse into cutlets, for the arms stick so to his body that it seems to me his inside and his outside are all one thing.

To Perceval, the armed knight appears fused to his inorganic armor and at the same time grossly organic. Perceval's term for chopping up comes from butchery: *esbrahoner*, from *brahon*, a cut of meat for roasting, especially rump or shank. The verb's animal associations are reinforced by Perceval's noun for chunks of knight: *carbonees*, strips of meat for grilling over coals. Although the young ignoramus has just vanquished the knight by throwing a javelin into his

eye, when faced with the analytical task of undoing this chivalric assemblage, Perceval can only see a gross glob of metal and flesh. At the same time, Perceval's noble penchant for chivalry and his later excellence lend some authority to his first impression. Predestined to and foolish about chivalry in equal measure, Perceval can at least perceive that special knowledge is needed to produce and manage a knight's close coordination with his gear. This coordination is so tight and so indispensable that the "prosthesis" accounts better than the "tool" for the manipulations inherent to chivalric performance.

Perceval's dilemma is resolved by an accomplished squire who has been tracking him and now emerges, laughing, to undo the dead knight's armor and fit it on Perceval from spurs up to helmet; then the squire places Perceval's foot in the stirrup, and has him mount the dead knight's warhorse: "Puis li met le pié en l'estrier, / Si le fait monter el destrier."³² Before this moment, Perceval had never seen stirrups: "Ains mais estriers veü n'avoit."³³ The rhyme stirrup-warhorse (estrier-destrier) closes Perceval's arming with a reminder of the stirrup's crucial role in mounted shock combat, and again coordinates chivalry's inorganic and organic supports. The destrier equipped for fighting replaces Perceval's "chaceor" (a horse for hunting), which he presents in gratitude to the helpful squire.³⁴ When seen prosthetically, stirrup, arms, man, and horse constitute a combat mechanism, recalling Lewis Mumford's old query, "How far shall one go back in demonstrating the fact that war has been perhaps the chief propagator of the machine?"³⁵

The Steed of Brass: A Total Mechanization?

The steed of brass in Chaucer's *Squire's Tale* appears to be a completely technologized horse.³⁶ It proves, however, to be more than a mechanism. My preceding chapter has made a case for this tale's sensitivity to certain concerns of the romance genre, such as the appropriation and mystification of the East, the prestige of an international chivalric brotherhood, and the self-defining encounter with wonders that constitutes "adventure." The masculine complements to Canacee's adventure with the peregrine are just briefly forecast as the *Squire's Tale* breaks off. Instead of getting representation in narrative, the potential adventures of knight and horse are gorgeously reified in the steed of brass.

Because the *Squire's Tale* is fragmentary, scholars have not generally considered the steed of brass in relation to adventures of knighthood. Instead, scholarly discussion has focused on what sort of knowledge produced the steed. A birthday gift presented to the Mongol king Cambyuskan by an emissary from

the Mamluk kingdom “of Arabe and of Inde” (V 110), the brass horse refers to both Oriental craftsmen’s expertise at constructing automata and the Orientalizing magic of romances. The pegs that operate it, the inorganic brilliance of its brass body, and its superiority in function to any merely organic horse have led scholars to propose that eastern automata or instruments such as the astro-labe are its closest ancestors.³⁷ Counterbalancing its forged or crafted aspects, the emissary describes certain operations in its making that go well beyond forging and crafting: “He that it wroghte koude ful many a gin. / He waited many a constellacioun / Er he had doon this operacioun, / And knew ful many a seel and many a bond” (V 128–31). The maker’s “operation” remains mysterious, in keeping with romance’s favoring of wonder over explanations, but watching the heavens for the right moment to place “seals” and “bonds” that bring the horse into being recalls what Chaucer elsewhere terms “magik natu-reel.”³⁸ In Chaucer’s works, natural magic is distinguished from the illusions of banquet entertainers on the one hand, and on the other from the spirit conjuring of evil magicians such as those in the tale’s analogues *Meliacin* and *Cleomadés*.³⁹ Natural magic, in contrast, uses profound knowledge of physical phenomena to manipulate the created world. Unlike both illusionism and necromancy, natural magic is aligned with alchemy and other learned areas of study.⁴⁰ In the *Squire’s Tale*, the magical operation consists in watching for the alignment of planets that will allow the maker’s will to fuse with the natural process; the maker’s “seel” and “bond” refer to joining and closing up, binding with injunctions, stabilizing and containing, “a force that dominates, controls, compels, constrains, or restrains.”⁴¹ Based in knowing secrets of nature and manipulating natural phenomena to produce unprecedented effects, natural magic predicts the oddly lifelike qualities of the steed, such as its quick eye and dancing feet, qualities that have no practical use. Through these qualities the brass horse evokes a living creature, even as it surpasses a living creature’s vulnerabilities. Incorporating both lively and technological qualities, the brass horse is analogous to the warhorse, a powerful creature refined and shaped by the sciences of breeding, training, and armory.

Because the brass steed’s mechanistic aspects are so salient over its evocations of life, I want to pause over the latter. First, as soon as this gift is put into action, its designation shifts from the neuter to the masculine. Consistently “it” when offered to Cambyuskan in the emissary’s opening speech, left standing “stille as any stoon” in the courtyard, “*it* stant as *it* were to the ground yglewed”—until the moment when the emissary “hath taught hem

the manere / To voyden *him*, as ye shal after heere" (V 171, 182, 187–88). As the brass horse moves from immobility to invisibility, its fusion of inanimate and animate qualities begins to entail sexing it. A few lines later, in the hyperbole "Nature ne art ne koude *him* nat amende," the mechanism again takes on sex, at the vibrant conjunction of craft and nature that natural magic so mysteriously exploits (V 197). And finally, as the emissary reveals how to move and guide this horse, it shifts entirely into the sexed status required of a knight's mount:

Sire, ther is namoore to seyne,
 But, whan yow list to riden anywhere,
 Ye mooten trille a pin, stant in his ere,
 Which I shal yow telle bitwix us two.
 Ye moote nempne him to what place also,
 Or to what contree, that yow list to ride.
 And whan ye come ther as yow list abide,
 Bidde him descende, and trille another pyn,
 For therin lith th'effect of al the gin,
 And he wol down descende and doon youre wille,
 And in that place he wol abide stille. (V 314–24)

In addition to bringing the steed of brass decisively into male sex, these lines supplement twisting his pegs with giving him vocal commands.⁴² Combining pegs with voice, given that knights of romance often urge their horses vocally, suggests again a complementary presence in the steed of both craft and living nature. To be sure, a fourteenth-century romance could well imagine a mechanism entirely of gears and pipes that responded to the human voice, but in the case of this steed of brass, a pattern of supplementarity running through the horse's presentation aligns his qualities not just with automata but with flesh and blood as well. Unsexed machine and sexed steed, guided by pegs plus voice, this creation drawn by natural magic from both art and nature expresses the double identification of the warhorse as equipment and as living creature.

The *Squire's Tale* projects its steed of brass into narratives that continue to reflect on chivalry's vision of the horse. Presented to Cambyuskan, a great warrior and conqueror, but later taken over by his elder son Algarsif, the steed is implicated in the two defining acts of chivalry, warfare and adventure:

First wol I telle yow of Cambyuskan,
 That in his tyme many a citee wan;
 And after wol I speke of Algarsif,
 How that he wan Theodora to his wif,
 For whom ful ofte in greet peril he was,
 Ne hadde he ben holpen by the steede of bras. (V 661–66)

In this projected plot, the brass steed's evocation of the living horse will be more significant than its evocation of court automata. Automata are entertaining, prestigious fixtures at court, whereas the steed of brass has an active future as chivalric equipment. The brass horse does not tire as would an ordinary horse, cannot be stolen or wounded, needs no care, and can move with immense speed either across the ground or, "if yow list," through the air (V 122).⁴³ Like the emissary's other gifts for Cambyuskan—a mirror that distinguishes friend from foe and a sword that inflicts wounds only its flat side can heal—the brass horse is based on a familiar model, but wonderfully improved. It embodies simultaneously two prestigious breeds:

Greet was the prees that swarmeth to and fro
 To gauren on this hors that stondeth so;
 For it so heigh was, and so brood and long,
 So wel proporcioned for to been strong,
 Right as it were a steede of Lombardye;
 Therwith so horsly, and so quik of ðe,
 As it a gentil Poilleys courser were. (V 189–95)

Lombard horses were bred toward improvements from at least the eighth century onward; in the later Middle Ages they were exported to England and France under the designations "*magni equi*" and "*dextrarii*," terms equivalent to "destrier" and "warhorse."⁴⁴ Tall, wide, long, and strong like a "steed of Lombardy," the brass horse is somehow also "as it a gentil Poilleys courser were." The courser is a lighter horse, more suited to adventuring but still also suited to combat, and unequivocally "gentil," an aristocrat among equines. Andrew Ayton finds in his study of the inventories of Edward III that the courser was "often characterised as a horse for the chase or the tournament field," but that "it was also regarded as a high quality warhorse, clearly a cut above the ordinary *equus* and second only to the destrier in value."⁴⁵ In fusing "steed" with "courser," the brass horse prepares alike for Cambyuskan's warmaking and Algarsyf's adventuring.

Sexed, responsive to the voice, and appearing to be bred, in other ways too the steed of brass flickers with the living physicality that chivalric ideology values in horses. The hints are fleeting and ambiguous: the steed of brass is “so horsly, and so quik of ye”; when his reins are taken up he “bigan to trippe and daunce”; and on adventure “ful ofte in greet peril he [Algarsyf] was, / Ne hadde he been holpen by the steede of bras” (V 194, 312, 665–66). What an intriguing turn of phrase is “so horsly, and so quik of ye”! When Chaucer’s Monk is said to be “a manly man” and Troilus to be “lik a manly knight,” the adjective creates a gender category for biological nature to inhabit.⁴⁶ “Manly” exerts pressure on “man” by claiming a pleonastic participation in the noun—claiming that to be a physical “man” entails being “manly.” In describing the brass horse, to be “horsly” cannot have such a transparent relationship to the prior natural state “horse,” but for just that reason, the adjective calls attention to itself, conjuring that physical state and making again a connection to living nature through magic. Similarly, the adjective that characterizes a brass eye, “quik” (which means both “lively” and “living,” “alive”) enhances the perfect mechanism with a suggestion of life. When the emissary touches his reins, “this hors anoon bigan to trippe and daunce,” curveting and prancing in displays of energy that were said to be signs of excellence and courage in horses. Xenophon advises on how to train horses to prance on cue, commenting that “men who manage such horses gracefully have a magnificent appearance. Indeed a prancing horse is a thing so graceful, terrible, and astonishing that it rivets the gaze of all beholders, young and old alike.”⁴⁷

Although the steed of brass could be no more than an unprecedented machine, the natural magic involved in its making suggests that a glimmer of nature has been harnessed in the seals and bonds of art. “He that it wroughte,” together with Chaucer’s Squire, has expressed both the chivalric fascination with technological advances—the warhorse as dream weapon—and the chivalric devotion to the living warhorse that “rivets the gaze of all beholders.” To turn next to how knights enter into relationship with their horses, interspecies contact proves to have its own kind of natural magic. The knight’s self-extension in chivalric practice is a rational matter of technique and specialized training, but also a venturing into enigma, a reaching out beyond the known into the mysteries of nature.

The Embodied Knight and Horse

I have argued that the *Squire's Tale* captures something of equine life in the bonds of natural magic. This preservation of the “horsly” is sensitive to chivalric thinking, in which a horse devoid of life would diminish his rider. Such a horse appears in an illumination from the Bodleian manuscript of the *Romance of Alexander* (Figure 9). In this bas-de-page image, youths practice in stages the mounted charge with fixed lance, first on foot and then on a wheeled wooden horse.⁴⁸ Like Perceval's attempt to take over the arms and horse of his first adversary, this image stresses that knighthood involves mastering a set of technologies. From this viewpoint, the wooden practice horse pulled along by two youths is equivalent to a warhorse in providing mobility, elevation, and inertia to support the lance thrust. At the same time, these training scenes reveal that their mechanical approach prepares only partially for combat. The quintain bears a curved mark to represent the helmeted head of an adversary. The youths need no armor to face this challenger. The reductiveness of the quintain's squiggle is analogous to the reductiveness of the wooden horse, which might as well be a child's toy as a training device.⁴⁹ The illumination represents training, or playing, partly by indicating how different actual combat would be—not only because actual adversaries and warhorses are physically powerful but because they can move and act independently, producing a situation far more complex and dangerous than the illumination depicts.

In contrast, an illumination (Figure 10) from the thirteenth-century Rochester Bestiary emphasizes the action of horses in combat. The illumination represents the moment in a paradigmatic encounter when the charge with fixed lances has unseated the chevaliers and they continue their combat on foot with swords. The warhorses also continue to attack one another.⁵⁰

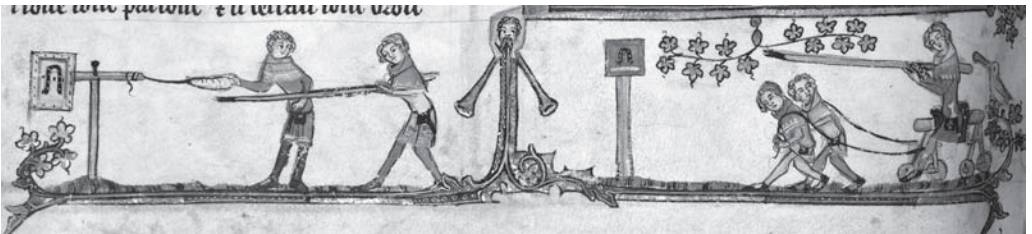


Figure 9. Boys practice mounted shock combat on a wooden horse. *The Romance of Alexander*. The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, MS Bodley 264, folio 82v.



Figure 10. Armed knights and their warhorses fight side by side. Rochester Bestiary.
© The British Library Board. London, British Library, MS Royal 12.F.XIII, folio 42v.

Their trappings are colored to match the red and blue arms of their fallen masters; the two pairs of combatants are identically positioned. This image is puzzling, even bemusing; it seems equally possible to hazard that the horses are shown in utter subjection to their masters' endeavors, or that they are shown to be taking initiative on their own. Are they fighting upright in imitation of their masters, or reverting to the natural fighting posture of stallions? As in many medieval depictions of warhorses, their actions are so in keeping with their masters' that their training and their independence from training become indistinguishable.

The kind of consciousness that inspires these warhorses has an implicit gloss in the Bestiary's entry for the Horse: "Some of them experience [sentiant] the enemy in war so intently that they attack their foes with bites" ("Quidam hostes in bello sentiunt adeo ut adversarios morsu petant").⁵¹ *Sentire* refers first of all to the physical senses, but extends its field of reference from bodily sensation to making sense of sensation—from feeling to noticing and perceiving. John Trevisa's translation of this text drawn from Isidore's *Etymologies* unfolds *sentire* into two terms: "som *feleth and knoweth* here enemyes in batayle, so ferforth that they areseth on here enemyes with biting and smitinge."⁵² *Sentire* expresses an uncertainty about how equine perception works, while hazarding

that it is grounded in the physical senses. Most importantly for introducing chivalric thought on this issue, *sentire* locates bodily sensation and mental response on a continuum, rather than differentiating between them. The refusal to differentiate is characteristic in chivalric texts that treat the mystery of equine consciousness. In my central example, the Middle English *Bevis of Hampton*, the bond between knight and horse is inextricably embodied and consciously chosen, trained and companionate, practical and principled.

Communication and Relationship

The mystery of equine consciousness works its way into *Bevis of Hampton* through the narrative's pervasive concern with betrayal and loyalty. Bevis is heir to an earldom, but his mother plots her husband's death "with tresoun" and her lover slays him "with tresoun" while he is hunting unarmed.⁵³ Throughout the romance, "tresoun" designates betrayals of personal allegiance as well as betrayals of legal and political duty, asserting that Bevis's disinheritorship is both a family dysfunction and a feudal crime. When Bevis protests his mother's remarriage, she calls him "treitour" and has him sold to Saracen merchants (*BH*, 499). A long string of episodes takes Bevis through service to and war with pagan kings, then home to regain, then lose again, and finally consolidate his own heritage with three kingdoms to be ruled by his children, uncle, and nephew. Like many romance plots of exile and return, *Bevis of Hampton* exposes, in Elizabeth Allen's analysis, "the culture's most profound social anxiety": that dynastic rights are not sufficient to guarantee dynastic stability.⁵⁴ The destructive power of "tresoun" strikes again and again through Bevis's adventures, echoing his childhood trauma of dispossession by treasonous murder. Before he is knighted, he suffers the "foule tresoun" (*BH*, 952) of a rival's ambush while hunting, as had his father before him. Two pagan kings, Ermin and Bradmond, "love" him and plight "troth" to him but soon collude to throw him into a prison pit where he spends seven years.⁵⁵ The distinctive antidote for dynastic anxiety that *Bevis of Hampton* prefers to all others is not, as in some romances, the hero's acquisition of courtly refinement or moral virtues.⁵⁶ Instead, Bevis's progress depends on bonds of friendship, fealty, love, marriage, and family allegiance, despite the fragility such bonds display again and again. Bevis gradually sustains his genealogical rights by leaping from alliance to alliance across a flowing temporal stream of betrayals.

Of all these alliances, the most stable is between Bevis and his horse Aron-del. To be sure, this horse is part of the chivalric equipment that provides Bevis with his fullest self-expression. Throughout the romance, Bevis's sword

Murgleie and his horse Arondel are invoked as his necessary complements: without them, he can be disadvantaged and overcome; with them, he is invincible.⁵⁷ But Arondel's functioning, unlike Murgleie's, produces an affective bond. Bevis never addresses Murgleie, never characterizes its virtues, nor does the narration animate it beyond its usefulness in battle. In contrast, Bevis and the narration call his bond with Arondel "loyalty" and "love." Treason's opposite is loyalty: just as treason has a double implication of personal betrayal and betrayal of social codes or laws, to be "loyal" is doubly to be true to another and to be virtuous, upright, law abiding. This powerfully moral term is used only of Arondel in *Bevis of Hampton*. During Bevis's first battle, Arondel proves to be "a stede gode and lel" (a good and loyal steed, *BH*, 590), and likewise during his last fight against accusations of treason in the streets of London, "Beves stered him ase gode knight. . . Ac ever his stede Arondel / Faste faught with hertte lel" (Bevis conducted himself as a fine knight . . . and always his steed Arondel fought firmly with a loyal heart) (*BH*, 4442, 4447–48). It is once forecast that Josian may match Arondel in loyalty, but she does not quite measure up. As he returns from his seven years in prison, Bevis hears of Arondel's own imprisonment for nearly killing Bevis's rival King Yvor. "'Wer Josiane,' [Bevis] thoughte, ase lele / Alse is me stede Arondel, / yet scholde ich come out of wo!" (Bevis thought, "If Josian were as loyal as is my steed Arondel, I could still escape my troubles!") (*BH*, 2033–35) Josian was confident when Bevis disappeared that "Naddestow me never for-sake / Yif sum tresoun hit nadde make" ("You would never have forsaken me if some treason had not made it happen") (*BH*, 1465–66), but by the seventh year of his absence she has lost her confidence in him, lamenting, "Now ichave bide that day / That to the treste I ne may: / That ilche god, that thow of speke, / He is fals & thow ert eke!" ("Now I have lived to see the day that I may not trust in you: that same God of whom you speak, he is false and so are you!") (*BH*, 2105–2108). Josian's love and loyalty are never seriously in doubt, but she does not manage to recognize Bevis when he returns to her disguised as a pilgrim, until Arondel has done so:

Beves to the hors tegh;
 Tho the hors him knew and segh.
 Hit ne wawede no fot,
 Til Beues hadde the stirop;
 Beves in to the sadel him threw,
 Thar bi that maide him wel knew. (*BH*, 2175–80)

Bevis went up to the horse; then the horse saw and knew him. He stood completely still until Bevis caught hold of the stirrup. Bevis threw himself into the saddle; thereby that maiden well knew him.

The recognition sequence restores Bevis to his two most constant companions. Arondel brings Josian back into relationship with Bevis. Arondel's recognition is analogous to Josian's, but not identical: he "knew and saw" Bevis through the information of his physical senses; a few lines earlier he broke free of his chains on hearing Bevis's name. Leaving aside for a moment the question of his "hearing" a name, the sensual basis for his recognition contrasts with Josian's: she had already seen and heard Bevis in his pilgrim clothing, but she only "wel knew" him when he reasserted his social position as a mounted knight. On the continuum of meanings for *sentire*, Arondel apprehends Bevis sensually, Josian conceptually.

The recognition scene is one of several in which Arondel and Josian have parallel relationships to Bevis: both the warhorse and the beloved have been for seven years under the control of King Yvor; later Bevis's uncle has two dreams in which he sees Bevis gravely wounded, the first signifying that Josian has again fallen captive to Yvor and the second signifying that Arondel has suffered the same fate (*BH*, 3841–51, 4041–52). Aligning Arondel with Josian could seem a diminishing arrangement in which woman and horse become accessories to Bevis's dynastic quest—until we recall that every character in the romance is defined in relation to that quest. Loyalty to Bevis confers high status rather than low on Arondel and Josian. Another negative interpretation of Josian's alignment with Arondel could see it as misogynistic degradation by analogy with a beast. Her occasional alignments, however, are far outweighed by Bevis's alignments with Arondel. Throughout the romance, the horse resembles Bevis more closely than he resembles Josian: like Bevis he is emphatically masculine, courageous in combat, and tireless on adventure. The bodily and temperamental likenesses linking Arondel and Bevis give rise to the loyalty, understanding, and love between them.

Chivalric texts often state that knight and horse can share both actions and understandings. "Thus have horses been found that in the thick of battle have shown themselves as loyal to their masters as if they had been men," writes Gutierre Diaz de Gámez. "There are horses who are so strong, fiery, swift and faithful, that a brave man, mounted on a good horse, may do more in an hour of fighting than ten or mayhap a hundred could have done afoot. For this reason do men rightly call him *cavallero* [horseman, chevalier]."58

Diaz de Gamez moves from the concrete interaction of knight and horse (“a brave man, mounted on a good horse, *may do more in an hour*”) to the assurance that this good horse is “loyal.” His account, along with many aspects of Arondel’s depiction, may appear to be naively anthropomorphic. In conventional anthropomorphism, human traits are projected onto animals that do not have those traits, misrecognizing animals for some ulterior purpose such as amusement (a talking horse named Mr. Ed), familiarization (Paddington Bear in his yellow rain slicker), or demonization (Little Red Riding Hood’s devious wolf). If Arondel’s “loyalty,” “knowing,” and “love” designate exclusively human capacities, then they mark no effort to represent equine consciousness. However, this familiar kind of anthropomorphism rests on two premises that render it inadequate: it takes the “anthro” side of its comparisons to be completely known and settled, and the “animal” side to be external to humanness in every respect. “The first presumption is false by ignorance,” objects Stanley Acampora, “and the second is false by contrary knowledge.”⁵⁹ Barbara Johnson characterizes this anthropomorphism as a merely comparative exercise that refuses to make the human “subject to definition, and thus transformation or trope. . . . [The human] is presupposed, not defined.”⁶⁰ Conventional anthropomorphism keeps “known” human neatly apart from beast, rather than inviting both its terms into metaphoric instability.⁶¹ In Tom Tyler’s excellent phrase, to describe a horse anthropomorphically is to act “as if humanity and animality were not conceptualized and constituted mutually and simultaneously.”⁶² So defined, I will argue, anthropomorphism inaccurately characterizes the strategies that depict Arondel in *Bevis of Hampton*. To be sure, this romance uses a vocabulary for Arondel’s behavior that is drawn from chivalric social relations. But exactly that chivalric vocabulary, encompassing knight and horse together, is deployed to show that Bevis and Arondel are in a mutually constituting relationship, performing interdependently and inflecting each other’s performance. Their relationship comments on the coordination of horse and human in practical chivalry, built as it is on military training and more deeply on the millennia of co-domestication discussed in Chapter 1. *Bevis of Hampton* begins to revise Tyler’s critique of anthropomorphism by presenting a knight and a horse “as if humanity and animality [*were*] conceptualised and constituted mutually and simultaneously.”

Understanding between horse and rider is fundamental to chivalry. Moving outward into genres that speak more explicitly of horsemanship, Caxton’s postface to the *Book of the Ordre of Chyualry* designates mutual comprehension as the core of knighthood and the starting place for restoring the Order

of Chivalry in England: “I wold demaunde a question if I shold not displease / how many knightes ben ther now in Englonde / that have th’use and th’exercise of a knighte, that is to wete / that *he knoweth his hors, and his horse him?*”⁶³ At a twenty-first-century distance from daily contact with horses, the part of this mutual “knowing” that is not difficult to grasp is that the horse must react correctly to the rider’s signals. When Bevis first rides Arondel, “He smot Arondel with spures of golde; / Thanne thoughte that hors, that he scholde, / Agen Redefoun Beves gan ride” (He struck Arondel with his gold spurs; then the horse thought of what he wanted to do; Bevis charged against Redefoun) (*BH*, 999–1001). What may be unfamiliar to today’s fully mechanized urbanite is that Arondel’s reaction to the spur is said to involve “thought,” carrying his relation to Bevis beyond stimulus-response and into consciousness. Equine “thought” is not specific to poetry; medieval and Classical treatises stress that horses cannot be fully exploited through bodily subjugation alone: “what a horse does under constraint,” in Xenophon’s treatise, “he does without understanding, and with no more grace than a dancer would show if he was whipped and goaded.”⁶⁴ Xenophon’s “understanding,” Caxton’s “knowing,” and the romance’s “thought” indicate a highest stage of training when horse and rider, as Vinciane Despret describes, reach isopraxis: “Both, human and horse, are cause and effect of each other’s movements. Both induce and are induced, affect and are affected. Both embody each other’s mind.”⁶⁵ A Muslim chevalier of the twelfth century, Usāmah ibn Munkid, experiences this perfect mutuality in mounted shock combat, when the knight charging with fixed lance surrenders control at the last moment to the horse: “It is indispensable for anyone who wants to give a blow with a lance to press his hand and his fore-arm against his side on the lance, and let his horse guide itself as best it can at the moment at which he strikes.” In a French translation of this passage, the knight must “éperonner son cheval, coller à lui, et le laisser faire le reste” (spur his horse, stick tightly to him, and let him do the rest).⁶⁶ The knight must put his trust in isopraxis—in an embodied “understanding,” “knowing,” or “thought” shared between rider and horse.

Mutual understanding brings about the victory of Bevis and Arondel in a seven-mile race for a prize with which Bevis will build “the castel of Arondel” (*BH*, 3542). King Edgar’s knights set the race “for to saien here alther stede, / Whiche were swift & strong” (to test which of their steeds were swift and strong) (*BH*, 3514–15). Hearing of the race and its prize of a thousand pounds of gold, “Thar with was Beues payed wel: / Meche a treste to Arondel” (Bevis was very pleased about it: he had great trust in Arondel) (*BH*,

3519–20). Their communication during the race could appear to be naively anthropomorphizing:

Arondel with is spures a smot
 & is bridel faste a schok;
 A mide the kours he hem of-tok.
 “Arondel,” queth Beves tho,
 For me love go bet, go,
 And I schel do faire and wel
 For the love reren a castel!”
 Whan Arondel herde what he spak,
 Be-fore the twei knightes he rak. (*BH*, 3528–3536)

He struck Arondel with his spurs and shook the reins rapidly; at the midpoint of the course he overtook [the leaders]. “Arondel,” said Bevis then, “For love of me go faster, go, and I will do fairly and well: for love of you I will build a castle.” When Arondel heard what he said, he pulled ahead of the two [leading] knights.

Arondel’s capacity to hear “what he spak”—all four lines of it—can be understood, through reference to chivalric writing more broadly, not as the anthropomorphic shutting down of attention to animal qualities but instead as the preservation of a metaphoric, transformative relationship between knight and horse. The trope moves beyond the obvious point of comparison, that even the most ordinary workhorses, fictional and historical alike, know verbal commands. In the narrowest representational terms, Arondel could be thought to hear only “go . . . go” and only as a verbal cue, not as a verb in the imperative mood.⁶⁷ In a broader sense, even incomprehensible words can contribute to communication. Zoologist Heini Hediger argues that speaking is so important in animal training because humans are so profoundly dependent on speech for communicating: “By speaking, our expression is activated and enriched. It is of course not the specific language nor the single words that matter but the facial expression, the intonation, the sound intensity, the posture, the movements . . .”⁶⁸ Human speech produces physical effects in the speaker that another species can grasp. *Bevis of Hampton*, in representing a communication that surpasses the aids of spur, rein, and the verbal signal “go,” reaches beyond anthropomorphism’s confidence in human separateness and stability, toward a certain saying and hearing that can connect knight

to horse. Bevis's four lines of speech intensify the content of "go" with some useful expression of Bevis's desire. His mode of communication looks "marvelous," appropriate to romance, but it can also be traced to the strategies of training that develop the interrelationship of knight and horse. An intensively domesticated and trained warhorse is already anthropogenous, suffused with inbred traits desirable to humans, including approachability and teachability; likewise, the knight refines his approach to the horse and his own teachability in the horse-rider combination. Both of them "produce an affected body," to quote Despret again; "being anthropomorphic means here to add new definitions to what it is to be a human being."⁶⁹

Bevis calls their relationship "love": for love of me, run faster, and for love of you, I'll build a castle. Again we could find traditional anthropomorphism in the use of one term, "love," for the affect of two species. Instead, the term's context works against the premise of anthropomorphism that human "love" is fixed and known. Bevis asserts that man and horse share "love," but not that their relationship is symmetrical. The reciprocity of "run faster" and "build a castle" articulates a vast difference in their capacities, while at the same time declaring their different capacities to be negotiable, exchangeable, within their relationship. "Love" designates the shared ground on which this negotiation of difference can take place. Bevis invites Arondel into some space of equivalence between them. In turn, Arondel's "love" invites Bevis into relationship, as Bevis names his castle after his horse, inserting Arondel into his dynastic achievement. Arondel's crossing over into genealogy has also an extra-textual dimension as the "castel of Arondel" makes a link between Bevis's lineage and the lineage of the historical earls of Arundel.⁷⁰ Bevis's family and cross-species ties come together in the naming of his castle.

In contrast to much that is entirely conventional about *Bevis of Hampton*, the relationship of Bevis and Arondel stands out as exploratory, even at odds with conventional anthropomorphism and its underlying humanism. In a fascinating discussion of contemporary science fiction, Ursula Heise notes that imagining ever more technologized humans, cyborgs, and androids tends paradoxically to go along with imagining intensified relations between humans and other animals. "Biophilia" in these science fictions most often confirms humans in their humanity: "the technologically enhanced human's ability to bond with the animal serves as a touchstone of humanity."⁷¹ A few of Heise's fictions take cross-species commitments farther by aligning them with family allegiances—as does *Bevis of Hampton*—taking "a posthumanist perspective, in which human consciousness is not *a priori* set apart as unique."⁷² Science

fiction's postmodern conjoining of technology and biophilia has an intriguing resonance with the premodern ideal of chivalry in *Bevis of Hampton*, which conjoins the mechanization of mounted shock combat with the boundary confounding expansiveness of cross-species love. I suspect that in many romances, as with most of the science fictions Heise discusses, the love of knight for horse merely affirms that a compassionate heart beats beneath the knight's steely breastplate. Biophilia moves beyond compassion in *Bevis of Hampton* when Arondel shares in Bevis's dynastic restoration, and again at the death of Bevis, Arondel, and Josian.

Death and Vulnerability

If combat is to define an elite group, physical vulnerability requires ideological management. Roger of Hovedon praises the sons of Henry II of England for their courage: the aspirant to knighthood "must see his blood flow and hear his teeth crack under the fist of his adversary, and when he is thrown to the ground he must fight on with all his might and not lose courage. The oftener he falls, the more determinedly he must spring to his feet again. Anyone who can do that can engage in battle confidently."⁷³ Roger stresses the courage needed to persevere as the body suffers damage, but stalking his invocation of courage is the objectification of bodies in combat. The technological achievements of late medieval chivalry cannot banish vulnerability; indeed, their production of a "thingly" creature reinforces taking men and horses to be assets like their weapons and armor. "They stabbed the horses in the guts, so that they threw off their masters," writes Thomas Gray of an encounter on the Scottish border—that well-known encounter in which William Marmion imitates a "knight errant" in a golden helmet. "Some [Scots] were left dead, and fifty valuable horses were captured."⁷⁴ The encounter's violence serves William Marmion's demonstration of courage in the pursuit of love: "Sir knight," the elder Thomas Gray addresses him, "you have come here as a knight errant, to make that helm famous, and it's more fitting that chivalric deeds should be done on horseback than on foot, whenever this can suitably be done. Mount your horse. See, there are your enemies."⁷⁵

In *Bevis of Hampton* as well, vulnerability and death are often managed through the celebration of high causes and the objectification of bodies in body counts. Pagans and Londoners are slain by the thousands as Bevis pursues his rights.⁷⁶ Bevis even calculates the exchange value of Arondel at a single slice of bread. Weak from hunger as he escapes from prison, Bevis falls off a horse he has won from his pursuers:

“Allas!” queth Beves, whan he doun cam,
 “Whilom ichadde an erl-dam
 And an hors gode and snel,
 That men clepede Arondel;
 Now ich wolde geve hit kof
 For a schiver of a lof!” (*BH*, 1821–26)

“Alas!” said Bevis when he had fallen, “Once I had an earldom and a good fast horse that men called Arondel; now I would exchange that in an instant for a slice of bread!”

Fortunately for Bevis, the proposed trade rests safely in the realm of hyperbole. Putting an exchange value on Arondel is a desperate impulse, akin to giving up his ancestral claim, thinkable only in a life-or-death moment. Bevis’s conditional “I would” raises the specter of quantifying his earldom and his warhorse, but his desperation indicates that they are almost beyond price.

A different ethic emerges when Bevis protests the death of a horse. Bevis’s new ethic turns away from managing vulnerability by invoking high purposes—“fighting for one’s heritage is a virtue”—or the objectifications they can justify—“lives are expendable in fighting for one’s heritage.” When Trenchefis, the fine warhorse Bevis has appropriated on his escape from prison, is killed in single combat with one of his pursuers, Bevis protests:

“O,” queth Beves, “so god me spede,
 Thow havest don gret vileinie,
 Whan thow sparde me bodi
 And for me gilt min hors aqueld,
 Thow witest him, that may nought weld.” (*BH*, 1890–94)

“Oh,” said Bevis, “so help me God, you have done a villainous thing, when I am the guilty one but you spare my body and kill my horse. You blame him, who is not in control of the situation.”

A first implication of Bevis’s protest is that a horse could conceivably be in control but that the horse’s surrender of control is exculpatory. It would be absurd to protest that a sword or a helmet had not been “in control” and therefore should not have been broken or dented. The moral language in Bevis’s reproach—it is “villainous,” base and wicked, to “blame” a horse when the

“guilt” is Bevis’s—urges that the horse was innocent, victimized. Deprived of life, the horse has suffered an injustice: the implication is that the horse’s life was of value to the horse himself. Bevis’s argument returns us to the Rochester Bestiary’s illumination of warhorses pictured puzzlingly as either naturally aggressive or totally subservient. Bevis’s observation that his horse Trenchefis was “not in control” coordinates the double potential in the Bestiary’s illumination: warhorses can act aggressively by nature, but their perfect training subordinates their will to the will of their knights. Further chivalric texts offer arguments similar to Bevis’s that, in return for their guiltless servitude, horses merit the protection of friend and foe alike.⁷⁷ Invoking right and wrong, Bevis argues that an innocent horse deserves to live.

This argument cannot meet the plot’s sharper challenge to interspecies ethics when Arondel kills King Edgar’s son. At this later point, Bevis has married the converted princess Josian, avenged his father’s murder, and recovered his earldom in Hampshire. Edgar has appointed him Marshal, an office Bevis’s father held before him. In this moment of achievement and stasis, Edgar’s son sneaks into the stable to steal Arondel, and Arondel knocks out his brains with a single kick. King Edgar swears that Bevis will hang for the killing:

The king swor, for that wronge
 That Beves scholde ben an-honge
 & to-drawe with wilde fole.
 The barnage it nolde nought thole
 & seide, hii mighte do him no wors,
 Boute lete hongen is hors;
 Hii mighte don him namoreFor he servede tho the king be-fore.
 “Nai,” queth Beves, “for no catele
 Nel ich lese min hors Arondele,
 Ac min hors for to were
 Ingelonde ich wile for-swere;
 Min eir ich wile make her
 This gode knight, min em Saber.” (*BH*, 3567–80)

For that wrong, the king swore that Bevis should be hanged and drawn with wild horses. The barons would not permit it, and said that they could not do more to him than to have his horse hanged; they could do no more to him because he had been in the king’s service. “No,” said Bevis, “I’ll not lose my horse Arondel in exchange for possessions;

instead I'll forswear England to protect my horse. Here I will make my heir this good knight, my uncle Saber."

Bevis's response to this situation revises his two earlier responses—his defense of Trenchefis and his hungry desire to trade his earldom and warhorse for bread. Unlike Trenchefis, Arondel has committed a "wrong" in killing King Edgar's son; he was "in control" in the stable while Bevis was serving at court. Bevis does not dispute the charge or defend Arondel's action, but he does defend Arondel's life. His response has two aspects. First, he commodifies his heritage to save the life of his horse; and further, he bases his response in the physical vulnerability he shares with Arondel, rather than in an argument about rights and wrongs.

First, in contrast to the desperate wish that earldom and warhorse could be exchanged for bread, now Bevis's assessment of earldom and warhorse diverge. Bevis no longer conceives his heritage as an honor and a birthright but as mere stuff, material possessions, negligible in relation to protecting Arondel. Bevis's distinction between conserving property and protecting his horse supplements Arondel's objectified value as chivalric equipment with further value as a vulnerable living body. Bevis does go on to win more land on his adventures with Arondel, but this episode insists that Bevis's choice is not just between two kinds of asset by aligning the threat to Arondel's life with a threat to Bevis's life. Each of them is proposed as the guilty party in the death of Edgar's son; each could be hanged for it. Their vulnerability before the law may refer to the historical practice of putting animals on trial for killing humans, in legal proceedings that typically resulted in the execution of the offending animal and sometimes in fines levied against the owner.⁷⁸ The debate in Edgar's court revises this historical practice by suggesting that animal and owner might be equally guilty for the animal's crime, and equally subject to execution. Their shared vulnerability grounds a new kind of moral response from Bevis.

Certain currents in contemporary philosophy can illuminate Bevis's shift from invoking right and wrong to a new position based in vulnerability. Ralph Acampora's "somatic sociability" and Simon James's "interspecies being-with" revise earlier phenomenology by proposing that human lives participate in the lives of other animals in the same way they participate in the lives of other humans.⁷⁹ In the language of *Mitsein*, humans share a being-with animals as well as a being-with humans. Variations in the texture of being-with other creatures are matters of degree, not of essential difference. The consequences of accepting that all animal life is in relationship do not necessarily entail being "nice"

to animals: James cites the example of “the Spanish village of Coria in which a bull is ritually beaten, shot and stabbed to death, presumably as some form of enactment of the reality of human suffering.”⁸⁰ Acampora develops a more hopeful version of response to awareness of a “symphysical lifeworld,” arguing that when violence is felt across species lines, “there emerges at once a moral awareness of ecosystemic fragility beside an ethical sensitivity to organismic vulnerability.”⁸¹ In a similar mode, though happily without the neologisms, Bevis responds to the threatened hanging of Arondel with physical protection, rather attempting a rational defense such as invoking the virtue of Arondel’s loyalty and the wrong of the attempted theft. Cora Diamond writes of such rational defenses, “our reliance on argumentation [is] a way we may make unavailable to ourselves our own sense of what it is to be a living animal.”⁸² Working on from Wittgenstein, Diamond argues that the “sense of what it is to be a living animal” creates a difficulty for ethical rationality, indeed for thought itself. Experiencing oneself as a “fellow creature” is incompatible with “one’s ordinary mode of life, including one’s ordinary modes of thinking: to appreciate the difficulty is to feel oneself being shouldered out of how one thinks, how one is apparently supposed to think.”⁸³ It is tempting to resolve this difficulty of shared living and suffering through moral cogitation about wrongs and rights, but “the moral issue is a deflection which makes our bodies mere facts.”⁸⁴ Instead, philosophy must learn “how to inhabit a body,” how to build a response out of shared embodiment.⁸⁵

The turn to embodiment takes different forms in the work of each of these philosophers; what they share is a tactic of progression from embodiment toward understandings, evoking again the argument compacted in the Bestiary’s verb *sentire*: that sensations give rise to conceptions. Broadening the argument from the Bestiary’s warhorses to the sphere of the human, *sentire* offers a new way of reading Bevis’s surrender of his heritage to protect his horse. Here he can no longer use the language of merit, of “villainy” and “wrong,” that he used with Trenchefis’s killer. But Bevis’s protectiveness is not simply an amoral abandonment of his earlier attentiveness to rights and wrongs; instead, Bevis’s protectiveness may be understood as a principled response arising directly from the living relationship he has long shared with this horse. Activated by the threat that either or both of them could be hanged, Bevis’s own turn to embodiment provides an alternate morality that is strange—“difficult” in its evacuation of rational argument. Ethics of embodiment are helpful in explaining why Bevis chooses his horse over his patrimony, and also why Bevis and Arondel remain oddly intertwined after their deaths.

Bevis, Josian, and Arondel die on the same day. Bevis knits up the three deaths by moving among them. As Josian takes to her deathbed, Bevis walks out to find Arondel dead in his stable; then returning to Josian's side, "er her body be-gan to colde, / In is armes he gan hire folde, / And thar hii deide bothe ifere." (before her body grew cold, he folded her in his arms, and there they died together) (*BH*, 4603–5). Expiring for love is not a typical heroic gesture. *Willingness* to die is crucial in chivalric orientations, but typically it is the fate of exceptional women to die of love after their lovers die. Likewise, exceptional horses die of love for their lost masters, proving their devotion and dependence.⁸⁶ In *Bevis of Hampton*, instead the hero's death follows Arondel's and Josian's, suggesting that Bevis has taken such sustenance from his relationships with them that it is not possible to live without them. Their interdependence in life sets up for proposing that all three are somehow still together in death. Bevis's heir Guy endows prayers in which Arondel continues to figure alongside Bevis and Josian:

An hous he made of riligioun,
 For to singe for sire Bevoun
 And ek for Josian the fre:
 God on here saules have pite!
 & also for Arondel,
 Yif men for eni hors bidde schel.
 Thus endeth Beves of Hamtoun:
 God geve us alle is benesoun! (*BH*, 4613–20)

He established a house of religion to sing [prayers] for Sir Bevis and also for noble Josian (may God have pity on their souls) and also for Arondel, if men may pray for a horse. Thus ends *Bevis of Hampton*. May God bless us all!

Incompatible ethics are shifting their prominence in these closing lines, with Christian orthodoxy coming to the fore and "existential being-with" sliding out of sight. Already Arondel was moving to the sidelines as the three passed away: off in the stable Bevis was "swithe wo" (very sorrowful) to find Arondel's body; returning to Josian and his family, Bevis is "wo a moste nede" (sorrowful in the extreme) as Josian dies in his arms (*BH*, 4599, 4602). The single line in which the house of religion prays "also for Arondel" preserves the ethical valence inherent in Bevis's protection of Arondel and the ethical charge in

their shared loyalty and love. The following line's backtracking "if men may" abruptly recalls that Christian theology does not provide animals with moral standing or eternal souls to pray for.⁸⁷ The clash of shifting gears is audible; a noisy incompatibility separates Christian orthodoxy from the romance's depiction of an ethically charged relationship between knight and horse. With "if men may pray for a horse," the romance retreats toward orthodoxy. There is little question that in the final line, "May God bless us all," Arondel is not one of "us." Still, his shadowy persistence beyond death is remarkable. The conditional mood of the line "if one may pray for a horse" does not entirely overwrite the preceding line's inclusiveness. The awkward interlinear clashing, as inclusiveness reverses toward exclusion, commemorates the unfamiliar contours of loyalty, love, and protectiveness that conjoined Bevis and Arondel.

Oscillating along lines of difference between a combat mechanism and a conscious partnership, the medieval conception of knight and horse is capacious and conflicted. On the one hand, elite technologies enhance the knight's physical capacities, enmeshing him in a prosthetic assemblage that wields immense social and military authority. Simultaneously, but quite differently, the embodied relationship of knight and horse carries the knight into a zone of consciousness and an ethical awareness that are not exclusively human. The intermingling of these opposed conceptions expands chivalric self-definition in two directions that may look contradictory, but even the apparent contradiction reinforces chivalry's special importance. Mechanization and living relationship could each be suspect in the absence of the other. The technological aspect of chivalry threatens the knight with objectification as just so much equipment, but the conscious component in the relationship of knight and horse resists objectification. Conversely, cross-species contact threatens the knight with bestial abasement, but the technologies of breeding, training, and arming the warhorse counterbalance mere animality with their prestigious elevations. Not that a perfectly harmonious image arises from these countervailing forces; instead, the superposition and shuffling of mechanistic and cross-species elements insist on the rich complexity of chivalric performance. Within chivalric performance, that superposition and shuffling convey the challenge of apprehending the warhorse. The warhorse's irresolvable oppositions express, from an elite perspective, the imponderability of all domesticated animals: the wonder, as Cora Diamond puts it, "that there should be beings so like us, so unlike us, so astonishingly capable of being companions of ours and so unfathomably distant."⁸⁸ Arondel is a weapon as well as a loving companion. Arondel is exchange value and vulnerable body. Chaucer's steed

of brass is both brass and “horsly.” His ear holds a guiding peg but listens for a voice. The product of these crossed representations is more than weaponry and more than our anthropomorphic similar. Instead, even in proximity a certain strangeness envelops the warhorse, a whiff of another world. His relationship with the knight is the first adventure of knighthood.

Conclusion

In medieval writing the grip of a certain humanism was strong, as it is today: the humanism that conceives all other animals in opposition to humankind, and hierarchizes that binary opposition so that animals are distributed along a single axis of lack. But medieval works abound in other ways of thinking about animals that need recovering and reconsideration. My concluding example in Chapter 6, the Auchinleck *Bevis of Hampton*, well illustrates the complexity with which medieval writers apprehended relationships among the creatures. Bevis's masterful self-extension in chivalric pursuit of his heritage veers off course as he surrenders that heritage to protect his horse Arondel. Knight and horse transform one another. Arondel is shaped by training into an instrument of chivalry but Bevis is shaped as well by his long partnership with Arondel. *Bevis of Hampton* depicts a knight who exchanges his subjection to sovereignty, in the person of King Edgar and the ideology of patrimony, for a productive alliance with his warhorse that sustains both of them until the day of their death.

My six chapters began with the immediacy of cohabitation and co-presence, then shifted upward to analyze systems that account for creation as a whole, and then returned in the final chapters to one-on-one relationships, this time to relationships that demand an ethical response. Uniting the diverse works in these chapters is a medieval fascination with animal mentalities—predatory concentration, obedience and disobedience, communication and devotion—that constructs animal encounters as two-way interactions. These constructions are sometimes anthropomorphic in that they ignore animal difference, but more often they are anthropomorphic in an exploratory mode that takes man and other beasts to be unsettled categories coming into definition through relationship. Some medieval works confound anthropomorphism altogether: *Bisclavret's* central conundrum of man, wolf, and dog presents their overlapping co-presence as a natural wonder. Differently wonderful is the isopraxis of knight and horse. On a universal scale, the bestiary's resonances and folds in nature affiliate all the species as well as positioning

homo, from the day of his creation, in definitional contrast to the animals he names.

A single line of argument unites these chapters as well, albeit paradoxically: the diversity of the animal record is irreducible to paradigm or paradigm shift. The immensely complex apprehension of animals in medieval culture does not derive, for example, entirely from learned thought of the Aristotelian and Augustinian traditions. As he defines what it is to be Christian in contrast to his rejected Manichean faith, Augustine rejects the Manichean argument against eating meat. The crucial strategy in Augustine's argument is to reserve the capacity for reason to the human alone, as had Aristotle before him: "We see and perceive from their cries that animals die with pain. But of course man disregards this in a beast with which, because it has no rational soul, man is not linked by any community of law."¹ This patristic and Classical viewpoint stretches well into and beyond medieval centuries. Nonetheless, the widely circulated wisdom book *Sydrac le philosophe* answers the question of whether one should take pity on animals by turning to a similarity rather than a distinction between human and beast. It is licit to eat animals and use them for human purposes, but "do not put them in pain or let them languish; let them alone and you will show your compassion. Think about yourself: if someone were to put you in pain or imprison you, it would seem terrible to you and you would suffer greatly. This is just how it seems to these helpless creatures."²

Sydrac's argument from analogy—how would you feel if someone hurt *you*—exactly inverts Augustine's argument from difference—animal pain has nothing to do with *you*. Looking to animal sentience rather than rationality versus irrationality, *Sydrac* bypasses Augustine's exclusively human "community of law" in favor of a creaturely relationship constituted in compassion: "Whoever delivers a creature that is in pain or in prison, know that he expresses great compassion. Whether it be a bird or a beast or a man that he delivers, he shows he has very great compassion."³ Deriving a general principle of conduct from living creatures' shared vulnerability, *Sydrac* articulates an ethical position that is implicit as well in Bevis's protection of Arondel and Chaucer's revisions to Boethius in the *Squire's Tale*. My chapters have argued that ethical positions, as well as practical considerations, popular beliefs, and rhetorical practices, commingle with and diverge from high philosophy in shaping cross-species encounters. By taking stock of the abundance of medieval responses to animals we can eventually come to a better appreciation of just how animals mattered, and how profoundly they mattered, in medieval thought and practice.

Traces of the living animal are everywhere in medieval texts. I search for these traces and attempt to conjure their meaning. *Bevis of Hampton* may look like a failed patrimonial plot, but it makes sense as a plot about the complex encounter of knight and horse in chivalry. “Pangur Bán” makes better sense as a recollection of a domestic cat’s peculiar concentration in hunting than it does as a sentimental humanization of a cat or as a metaphoric celebration of scholarly persistence. The repentant wolves, hospitable sea animals, and weeping workhorse of northern hagiography are more than mere figures for a saint’s Christian followers; their substantial working, honoring, and loving testify to the saint’s more than human authority and his efforts at environmental revision. Cuthbert’s negotiation with two jackdaws who took thatch from his roof evokes the nest building, carrion scavenging, and noisy begging of the jackdaws that still nest on Farne today. As discussed in Chapter 1, the Venerable Bede was moved to apologize for the birds’ triviality when he rewrote Cuthbert’s anonymous biography: “Let it not seem absurd to anyone to learn a lesson of virtue from birds.”⁴ Let it rather seem absurd to reduce this anecdote to no more than a lesson in virtue for Cuthbert’s monks. The anecdote is surely, or is surely also, a wondrous instance of the saint’s engagement with Farne’s wild inhabitants. For Cuthbert’s first biographer and the visitors to Farne who repeated the anecdote to the biographer, the jackdaws’ gift, a palpable lump of lard for waterproofing their palpably wet boots, was part of the encounter’s importance. The gift was a material sign of Cuthbert’s modification of the jackdaws’ behavior and his broader commitment to modifying Farne for Christian habitation. Together with many medieval writers, Cuthbert’s visitors and his anonymous biographer did not forget the living animal, and neither should medievalists reading their works. The animal’s trace, even when faint, is revelatory.

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Notes

INTRODUCTION

1. This concise definition is attributed to Aristotle but is not attested in his writings in so many words. Isidore of Seville, *The “Etymologies” of Isidore of Seville*, trans. Stephen A. Barney, W. J. Lewis, J. A. Beach, and Oliver Berghof (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 81 (2.25.2) collects several similar attempts to differentiate *homo* from *animal* through a particular trait: “A human being is an animal, rational, mortal, land-dwelling, bipedal, capable of laughter”; Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae sive Origines*, ed. W. M. Lindsay, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), 1:107 (2.25.52): “Homo est animal rationale, mortale, terrenum, bipes, risu capax.”

2. Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *On the Properties of Things: John Trevisa’s Translation of Bartholomaeus Anglicus De Proprietatibus Rerum*, ed. M. C. Seymour, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 2:1092 (18:1:13): “And al that is comprehended of fleissh and of spiryte of lif and so of body and of soule is ycleped *animal*, ‘a best,’ whethur it be ayry as fowil, or wattray as fissh that swymmeth, other erthy as bestes that goth on grounde and in feldes, as men and bestes wilde and tame.” *Middle English Dictionary*, ed. Hans Kurath, Sherman M. Kuhn, and Robert E. Lewis (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1952–2001), *animāl* (n.), provides further examples of *animal* that designate any living creature including humans, or conversely that differentiate the animal from the human. In Middle English as in Early Modern English the more common terms are *creature* and *beast*, both of which can likewise either include or exclude humans: *Middle English Dictionary*, *bēst(e)* (n.), *crēātūre* (n.). In Latin the passage reads “Dicitur autem animal omne quod consistit ex carne et spiritu vitae animatum, sive sit aereum, ut volatilia, sive aquaticum, ut natatilia, sive terrenum, sicut sunt agrestia et greffibilia, scilicet homines, reptilia, bestiae et iumenta”: Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De rerum proprietatibus* (Frankfurt am Main: Minerva, 1964 [1601]), 968–69 (book 18, Prologue).

3. Bartholomaeus, *On the Properties of Things: John Trevisa’s Translation*, 1:90 (3.1.1): “Isider seith that a man is a best iliche to God.” Similarly Chaucer’s translation of Boethius’s *Consolation of Philosophy* answers the question “what thyng is a man?” with “a resonable mortel beste”: Geoffrey Chaucer, *Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Larry D. Benson et al. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987), *Boece*, 407 (Book I, prose 6.60–63). Lady Philosophy will supplement this definition with her emphasis on man’s immortal soul.

4. Chaucer, *Riverside Chaucer, Canterbury Tales*, “Second Nun’s Tale,” 266 (VIII.288): “Whoso that troweth nat this, a beest he is.”

5. *Middle English Dictionary*, *kinde* (n.), 1, 5a, 9.

6. Timothy Morton, “Queer Ecology,” *PMLA* 125 (2010): 273–82; Derrida, *L’animal que donc je suis*, ed. Marie-Louise Mallet (Paris: Galilée, 2006), 65–77. David Wood, “*Comment ne pas manger*: Deconstruction and Humanism,” in *Animal Others: On Ethics, Ontology, and Animal Life*, ed. H. Peter Steeves (Albany: SUNY Press, 1999), 16, 29, calls *human* and *animal* “a form of deadening shorthand” but continues to explore both terms as “metaphysical categories requiring all sorts of police work, and . . . subject to the deepest forms of scrutiny that philosophy can devise.”

7. Peter Hammond, *Food and Feast in Medieval England* (Phoenix Mill, Gloucestershire: Sutton, 1993, rev. ed. 2005), 135–36, 144–45; Anthony Richard Wagner, “The Swan Badge and the Swan Knight,” *Archaeologia* 97 (1959): 127–38; Isidore, “*Etymologies*” of *Isidore of Seville*, 264–65 (12.8.18): swans as signs of good luck; this information is repeated in most of the insular bestiaries.

8. Cross-species likeness is a radically unsettled subject at the cusp of scientific and philosophical writing. A few introductions relevant to my chapters are Peter Atterton and Matthew Calarco, eds., *Animal Philosophy: Essential Readings in Continental Thought* (London: Continuum, 2004); Marc Bekoff, Colin Allen, and Gordon M. Burghardt, eds., *The Cognitive Animal: Empirical and Theoretical Perspectives on Animal Cognition* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2002); Lorraine Daston and Gregg Mitman, eds., *Thinking with Animals: New Perspectives on Anthropomorphism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005); Arien Mack, ed., *Humans and Other Animals* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1999); and Cary Wolfe, *Animal Rites: American Culture, the Discourse of Species, and Posthumanist Theory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

9. Alan Stewart, “Humanity at a Price: Erasmus, Budé, and the Poverty of Philology,” in *At the Borders of the Human: Beasts, Bodies, and Natural Philosophy in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Erica Fudge, Ruth Gilbert, and S. J. Wiseman (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999), 9–25; Peter Sloterdijk, “Rules for the Human Zoo: A Response to the *Letter on Humanism*,” trans. Mary Varney Rorty, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 27 (2009): 12–28; David Wallace, *Chaucerian Polity: Absolutist Lineages and Associational Forms in England and Italy* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1997), 261–98.

10. Jonathan Burt, “The Illumination of the Animal Kingdom: The Role of Light and Electricity in Animal Representation,” *Society and Animals* 9 (2001): 203–28, 203. From earlier decades, monographs particularly important to the formation of animal studies were Donna J. Haraway, *Primate Visions: Gender, Race, and Nature in the World of Modern Science* (New York: Routledge, 1989); Harriet Ritvo, *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987); Paul W. Taylor, *Respect for Nature: A Theory of Environmental Ethics* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986); Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England 1500–1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983).

11. Jeffrey J. Cohen, *Medieval Identity Machines* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota

Press, 2003), 42. Earlier monographs influential in medieval animal studies were Robert Delort, *Les animaux ont une histoire* (Paris: Seuil, 1984); Elisabeth de Fontenay, *Le silence des bêtes: la philosophie à l'épreuve de l'animalité* (Paris: Fayard, 1998); Joyce E. Salisbury, *The Beast Within: Animals in the Middle Ages* (New York: Routledge, 1994); Richard Sorabji, *Animal Minds and Human Morals: The Origins of the Western Debate* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1993); Dorothy Yamamoto, *The Boundaries of the Human in Medieval English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

12. Cary Wolfe, "Human, All Too Human: 'Animal Studies' and the Humanities," *PMLA* 124 (2009): 567. Wolfe's essay is a scintillating analysis of the state of play across disciplines in animal studies that accompanies "Theories and Methodologies: Animal Studies," a cluster of twelve essays on literary animal studies in the September 2009 issue of *PMLA*. See also in this issue Bruce Holsinger, "Of Pigs and Parchment: Medieval Studies and the Coming of the Animal," *PMLA* 124 (2009): 616–23. Clusters on medieval animal studies include "Symposium: Animal Methodologies," with contributions by Susan Crane, Emma Gorst, Bruce Holsinger, Sarah Kay, Robert Mills, Sarah Novacich, and Sarah Stanbury, *New Medieval Literatures* 12 (2010): 117–77; *postmedieval* 2, 1 (Spring 2011), special issue "The Animal Turn," with contributions by Susan Crane, Sarah Kay, Gary Lim, Peggy McCracken, Sarah Stanbury, Karl Steel, Peter W. Travis, and Cary Wolfe; and "Colloquium: Animalia," with contributions by Jeffrey J. Cohen, Susan Crane, Lisa Kiser, Gillian Rudd, David Salter, David Scott-MacNab, and Karl Steel in *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 34 (2012).

13. Jacques Derrida, *The Animal That Therefore I Am*, ed. Marie-Louise Mallet, trans. David Wills (New York: Fordham University Press, 2008), 7; Derrida, *L'animal que donc je suis*, 23: "Car la pensée de l'animal, s'il y en a, revient à la poésie, voilà une thèse, et c'est ce dont la philosophie, par essence, a dû se priver."

14. Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, 50–51. Another example of the developmental model in animal studies is Laurie Shannon, "The Eight Animals in Shakespeare; or, Before the Human," *PMLA* 124 (2009): 472–79: before Descartes "there is no such thing as 'the animal'"; the "coming Cartesian dispensation . . . seeks to secure the human by according it a unique, positive attribute that all animals can be said to lack" (474, 477). See Chapters 2 and 3 on the antiquity of the human/animal binary and its grounding in exclusively human *logos*.

CHAPTER I. COHABITATION

1. T. M. Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 185–202, 314–26; Westley Follett, *Céli Dé in Ireland: Monastic Writing and Identity in the Early Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006), 24–48; James F. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland: Ecclesiastical. An Introduction and Guide* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1929; rpt. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1997), 424, 487–88.

2. According to Pierre Boglioni's comprehensive survey of medieval hagiography, "Il santo e gli animali nell'alto medioevo," in *L'uomo di fronte al mondo animale nell'alto*

Medioevo: 7–13 aprile, 1983 (Spoleto: Presso la sede del Centro, 1985), 935–93, the Irish Lives are more interested in cross-species relationships than are other traditions: compared with *vitae* of other regions, those of Ireland “costituiscono nel campo agiografico l’esempio estremo di simbiosi fra la figura del santo ed il mondo animale in tutte le sue dimensioni” (937): “constitute in the field of hagiography the strongest instance of symbioses between the saintly figure and the animal world in all its dimensions.” Kathleen Hughes, *Early Christian Ireland: Introduction to the Sources* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1972), 220, concludes that Irish and northern British saints are “in close harmony with the animal world.”

3. Lisa M. Bitel, *Isle of the Saints: Monastic Settlement and Christian Community in Early Ireland* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1990), 66–79; Michael Herity, “The Building and Layout of Early Irish Monasteries Before the Year 1000,” *Monastic Studies* 14 (1983): 247–84.

4. *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., “domesticate” (v.); on the genetic process in the contemporary meaning of *domestication*: Sandor Bökönyi, “Definitions of Animal Domestication,” in *The Walking Larder: Patterns of Domestication, Pastoralism, and Predation*, ed. Juliet Clutton-Brock (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 22–27; Juliet Clutton-Brock, “The Process of Domestication,” *Mammal Review* 22 (1992), 84: “it should be accepted that domestication *is* evolution”; Raymond P. Coppinger and Charles Kay Smith, “The Domestication of Evolution,” *Environmental Conservation* 10 (1983): 283–92.

5. Whitley Stokes and John Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus: A Collection of Old-Irish Glosses, Scolia, Prose and Verse*, 2 vols. (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1901, 1903), 2:xxxii–xxxiv; for a full discussion of the poems in the context of the manuscript, see Hildegard L.C. Tristram, “Die irischen Gedichte im Reichenauer Schulheft,” in *Studia Celtica et Indogermanica. Festschrift für Wolfgang Meid zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Peter Anreiter and Erzsébet Jerem (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 1999), 503–29. She concludes that the manuscript was produced in the ninth century in Ireland, possibly in Leinster. Gerald Murphy, in *Early Irish Lyrics, Eighth to Twelfth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), 172, lists the contents of this booklet: the five Old Irish poems, “a Virgil commentary, examples of Greek paradigms, astronomical notes, and a selection of Latin hymns.”

6. “Pangur Bán,” trans. with commentary by Seamus Heaney, *Poetry (Modern Poetry Association)* 188, 1 (April 2006): 3–5. Hereafter this translation is quoted without line references.

7. “Pangur Bán,” ed. and trans. Whitley Stokes and John Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus: A Collection of Old-Irish Glosses, Scolia, Prose and Verse*, vol. 2 (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1903), 293–94. Hereafter this translation is quoted in my text without line references. Robert Welch, “Sacrament and Significance: Some Reflections on Religion and the Irish,” *Religion and Literature* 28, 2–3 (Summer–Autumn 1996): 101–13, provides a rich close reading of the poem’s language. On versification see Eleanor Knott and Gerald Murphy, *Early Irish Literature* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1966), 23–28; and Murphy, *Early Irish Lyrics*, 172: “The metre is *deibide* (seven syllables in each line with an unstressed final syllable in *b* rhyming with a stressed final syllable in *a*, and

an unstressed final syllable in *d* with a stressed final syllable in *c*). Alliteration is frequent.” For the happy few who can enjoy the original lyric, it is read aloud on the Archipelago website, <http://www.archipelago.org/vol7-3/11.htm>; its text in Murphy’s *Early Irish Lyrics* reads:

1. Messe ocus Pangur Bán,
cechtar nathar fri saindán:
bíth a menma-sam fri seilgg,
mu menma céin im saincheird.
2. Caraim-se fos, ferr cach clú,
oc mu lebrán, léir ingnu;
ní foirmtech frimm Pangur Bán:
caraid cesin a maccdán.
3. Ó ru biam, scél cen scís,
innar tegdais, ar n-óendís,
táithiunn, díchríchide clius,
ní fris tarddam ar n-áthius.
4. Gnáth, h-úaraib, ar gressaib gal
glenaíd luch inna línsam;
os mé, du-fuit im lín chéin
dliged n-doraíd cu n-dronchéill.
5. Fúachaid-sem fri frega fál
a rosc, a n-glése comlán;
fúachimm chéin fri fégí fis
mu rosc réil, cesu imdis.
6. Fáelid-sem cu n-déne dul
hi n-glen luch inna géchrub;
hi tucu cheist n-doraíd n-dil
os mé chene am fáelid.
7. Cia beimmi a-min nach ré
ní derban cách a chéle:
maith la cechtar nár a dán;
subaighthus a óenurán.
8. h-É fesin as choimsid dáu
in muid du-ngní cach óenláu;
du thabairt doraíd du glé
for mo mud céin am messe.

8. W. H. Auden, “The Monk and His Cat,” in Samuel Barber, *Hermit Songs*, no. 8, *Leontyne Price and Samuel Barber: Historic Performances (1938, 1953)* (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Bridge Records, 2004).

9. Jeffrey J. Cohen, *Medieval Identity Machines* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota

Press, 2003), 47–48. Love between scholar and cat widely characterizes general readers' interpretations as well. For example, the lyric's scholar "was a warm-hearted fellow who loved his cat and could not resist the tribute," <http://www.irishcultureandcustoms.com/poetry/PangurBan.html>; "Little did he know that 1,200 years later, others would fall in love with Pangur too," <http://www.fisheaters.com/pangurban.html>.

10. Harriet Ritvo, "The Emergence of Modern Pet-Keeping," in *Animals and People Sharing the World*, ed. Andrew N. Rowan (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1988), 13–31, traces how affection became the dominant meaning of modern animal ownership. James A. Serpell, "Pet-Keeping and Animal Domestication: A Reappraisal," in Clutton-Brock, *The Walking Larder*, 10–21, shows that keeping tame animals for pleasure is not a recent or affluent phenomenon but rather a phenomenon broadly characteristic of all societies. What changed in the modern industrial era was the gradual dominance of affectionate pet-keeping over all other kinds of animal keeping and the ideological configuration of pet-keeping as a morally upright and socially prestigious behavior.

11. Heaney, "Pangur Bán," translator's note. Fuller's earth is a highly absorbent claylike material that was used in medieval cloth production to draw impurities such as lanolin out of wool. Among its uses today is as a drying agent in commercial kitty litter.

12. Net fighting is evoked in 1 Corinthians 7:35 and probably in Job 19:6 and Micah 7:2: see the commentaries on these verses in Adam Clarke, *The Holy Bible; Containing the Old and New Testament, Including the Marginal Readings and Parallel Texts*, new ed. Thornley Smith, 6 vols. (London: Ward, Lock & Bowden, 1881). On the Roman *retarius* or net-fighter, see also D.L. Bomgardner, *The Story of the Roman Amphitheatre* (London: Routledge, 2001), 114–15.

13. *Felis catus* is only marginally domesticated, with the impact of artificial selection remaining small in comparison to that on dogs and species raised for meat. For thousands of years, however, cats have been valued as rodent killers; the best would likely have been favored through artificial selection. Well into the twentieth century, drowning kittens not mothered by "good mousers" was widespread, as was distributing kittens of "good mousers" across the community.

14. Kevin R. Crooks and Michael E. Soulé, "Mesopredator Release and Avifaunal Extinctions in a Fragmented System," *Nature* 400 (5 August 1999): 565. By "recreational hunters" the authors mean that domestic cats continue to hunt even when they are fed by owners and do not need to consume their prey. A British field study of carcasses brought home by domestic cats estimates that in Britain as a whole, cats bring home more than 200 million uneaten carcasses per year: Michael Woods et al., "Predation of Wildlife by Domestic Cats *Felis catus* in Great Britain," *Mammal Review* 33 (2003): 174.

15. Frederick Zeuner, *A History of Domesticated Animals* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), 389, 396; cats are pictured with rodents in the Book of Kells and the Lindisfarne Gospels: Leslie Alcock, "From Realism to Caricature: Reflections on Insular Depictions of Animals and People," *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 128 (1998): 522–24.

16. Juliet Clutton-Brock, "The Animal Resources," in *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. David M. Wilson (London: Methuen, 1976), 384, 392. Although this code is

usually dated to c. 945, Catherine McKenna has informed me that it may not predate its high medieval manuscript.

17. Gherardo Ortalli, “Gli animali nella vita quotidiana dell’alto Medioevo: Termini di un rapporto,” in *L’uomo di fronte al mondo animale*, 1420, 1424.

18. John the Deacon, *Johannis Diaconi Sancti Gregorii Magni Vita*, PL 75:124: “nihil in mundo possidebat praeter unam gattam, quam, blandiens crebro, quasi cohabitaticem in suis gremiis refovebat.” Laurence Bobis, “L’évolution de la place du chat dans l’espace social et dans l’imaginaire occidental du Moyen Âge au XVIII^e siècle,” in *L’homme, l’animal domestique et l’environnement du Moyen Âge au XVIII^e siècle*, ed. Robert Durand, Centre de recherches sur l’histoire du monde atlantique, Enquêtes et documents 19 (Nantes: Ouest Editions, 1993), 77, notes the frequency with which this anecdote was repeated by later medieval writers.

19. An excellent study of Classical and early Christian commentary on the minds of animals is Richard Sorabji, *Animal Minds and Human Morals: The Origins of the Western Debate* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press), 1993.

20. José Ortega y Gasset, *Meditations on Hunting*, trans. Howard B. Wescott (New York: Scribner’s, 1972), 54.

21. Nancy Mitford, *The Pursuit of Love* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1945), 27.

22. Michael Pollan, *The Omnivore’s Dilemma: A Natural History of Four Meals* (New York: Penguin, 2006), 334.

23. Murphy, *Early Irish Lyrics*, 244, headword áith; *Dictionary of the Irish Language Based Mainly on Old and Middle Irish Materials*, gen. ed. E. G. Quin (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1913–76), headword áith.

24. Richard Feynman, “Take the World from Another Point of View,” Yorkshire Television interview, <http://calteches.library.caltech.edu/35/2/PointofView.htm>, transcript lightly corrected by comparison with the videotape.

25. See Coppinger and Smith, “The Domestication of Evolution,” for scientific versions of domestication; Karl Tobias Steel, *How to Make a Human: Animals and Violence in the Middle Ages* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2011), 61–91, for medieval thought on taming and controlling animals.

26. E.g., Helmut Hemmer, *Domestication: The Decline of Environmental Appreciation*, trans. Neil Beckhaus (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 1–12; Tim Ingold, “From Trust to Domination: An Alternative History of Human-Animal Relations,” in *Animals and Human Society: Changing Perspectives*, ed. Aubrey Manning and James Serpell (London: Routledge, 1994), 1–22; Paul Leyhausen, “The Tame and the Wild—Another Just-So Story?” in *The Domestic Cat: The Biology of Its Behaviour*, ed. Dennis C. Turner and Patrick Bateson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 57–66. For the more traditional view that domestication is a one-way process initiated by humans, see Clutton-Brock, “The Process of Domestication”: for Clutton-Brock, ownership and control of reproduction are definitional, so that *Felis catus* is not clearly a domesticated species.

27. Bökönyi, “Definitions of Animal Domestication,” 24.

28. Hemmer, *Domestication*, 45–49; Carlos A. Driscoll et al., “The Near Eastern Origin of Cat Domestication,” *Science* 317 (27 July 2007): 519–23.

29. A landmark study of neoteny is Stephen Jay Gould, *Ontogeny and Phylogeny* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1977); a brief introduction is Stephen Budiansky, *Covenant of the Wild: Why Animals Chose Domestication* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1999), 97–100.

30. We differ from our nearest primate relatives in qualities ranging from our retention of juvenile skull shape to lifelong learning capacity to exceptionally high tolerance for living in proximity to our own and other species: Gould, *Ontogeny and Phylogeny*, 352–404.

31. Coppinger and Smith, “The Domestication of Evolution,” 287. *Felis catus*, as noted above, is not so thoroughly “edited” as many domesticants. Hemmer, *Domestication*, 81–83, notes that domestic cats hunt in excess of their need for food, as well as showing several neotenuous traits.

32. The redundancy is noted by David Greene and Frank O’Connor, ed. and trans., *A Golden Treasury of Irish Poetry, A.D. 600–1200* (London: Macmillan, 1967), 81. If Pangur were an Irish name then the cat’s name would be evidently pleonastic, but possibly the Welsh name was supplemented with the Irish word for “white” because Irish speakers were not familiar with the noun *pangur* for a man working with pale fuller’s earth: I thank Catherine McKenna for this observation.

33. Bobis, “L’évolution de la place du chat,” 77.

34. Lyudmila N. Trut, “Early Canid Domestication: The Farm-Fox Experiment,” *American Scientist* 87 (March–April 1999): 163–64, 168. The Cornell University website for the fox farm experiment shows a nearly white fox: <http://cbsu.tc.cornell.edu/ccgr/behaviour/Index.htm>.

35. For representations of cats as promiscuous, lawless, vain, and evil, see Douglas Gray, “Notes on Some Medieval Mystical, Magical and Moral Cats,” in *Langland, the Mystics and the Medieval English Religious Tradition*, ed. Helen Philipps (Cambridge: Brewer, 1990), 185–202; Sara Lipton, “Jews, Heretics, and the Sign of the Cat in the *Bible Moralisée*,” *Word and Image* 8 (1992): 362–77.

36. Coppinger and Smith, “The Domestication of Evolution,” 284.

37. On the northern commingling of monastic and solitary ways of life, Clare Stancliffe, “Cuthbert and the Polarity Between Pastor and Solitary,” in *St. Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community to AD 1200*, ed. Gerald Bonner, David Rollason, and Clare Stancliffe (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1989), 39, cites a letter of Columbanus: “you know that I love the salvation of many, and seclusion for myself: the one for the progress of the Lord, that is, of His church; the other for my own desire.” Columbanus emigrated from Ireland to the continent rather than to Britain, placing his *vita* just outside the subset of *vitae* I examine here. On the Biblical and antique precedents for the “desert” of the North (Latin *desertum* and *eremus*): Jacques Le Goff, *The Medieval Imagination*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 47–59; Dee Dyas, “‘Wilderness is Anlich Lif of Ancre Wununge’: The Wilderness and Medieval Anchoritic Spirituality,” in *Approaching Medieval English Anchoritic and Mystical Texts*, ed. Dee Dyas, Valerie Edden, and Roger

Ellis (Cambridge: Brewer, 2005), 19–33; Dyas points out, 20, that both *desert* and *wilderness* translate Hebrew *midbar* and Greek *éremos*.

38. *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae ex Codice olim Salmanticensi nunc Bruxellensi*, ed. W. Heist, *Subsidia Hagiographica* 28 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1965), *Vita S. Cainnechi*, 193, at chap. 43; *Vita Prior S. Fintani*, 198–99, at chap. 3. Hereafter cited in my notes as *VSH*.

39. Hughes, *Early Christian Ireland*, 219; “the common subject matter of hagiology”: Kenney, *Sources for the Early History of Ireland: Ecclesiastical*, 395. Similarly, Charles Doherty, “The Irish Hagiographer: Resources, Aims, Results,” in *The Writer as Witness: Literature as Historical Evidence*, ed. Tom Dunne and Charles Doherty (Cork: Cork University Press, 1987), 11, judges the *vitae* to be “a goldmine for the historian of social conditions, values, and mental horizons of the people of the Middle Ages,” but his survey of the goldmine makes no mention of the saints’ animal miracles.

40. Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, 262–64.

41. Boglioni, “Il santo e gli animali nell’alto medioevo,” 969–71, makes the point that animal miracles must be situated within the saints’ wider field of powers. He objects to scholarship on animals in isolation from other aspects of saintly authority, e.g., Mary Donatus MacNickle, “Beasts and Birds in the Lives of the Early Irish Saints” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1934), but MacNickle’s study is nonetheless a useful collation of animal detail covering several centuries of hagiography. On Irish hagiography more broadly, see Joseph Falaky Nagy, *Conversing with Angels and Ancients: Literary Myths of Medieval Ireland* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1997); Nathalie Stalmans, *Saints d’Irlande: Analyse critique des sources hagiographiques (VII^e–IX^e siècles)* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2003).

42. *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert: A Life by an Anonymous Monk of Lindisfarne and Bede’s Prose Life*, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940), 60–139. Hereafter Anonymous, *Life of Saint Cuthbert*.

43. Adomnán of Iona, *Adomnán’s Life of Columba*, ed. and trans. Alan Orr Anderson and Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson (London: Nelson, 1961). Adomnán was the ninth abbot of Iona, the Irish foothold off Scotland founded by Columba in 565. Hereafter Adomnán, *Life of Columba*.

44. Richard Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Saints’ Lives: An Introduction to Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 297–339, establishes a source MS of about 750–850 for nine *vitae* in the Codex Salmanticensis; “their composition should almost certainly be dated earlier than about 800” (334). On the fidelity of the Codex Salmanticensis to its source MSS, 245–46.

45. Colgrave, *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert*, 5, concludes “it is clear that [Cuthbert] belongs to the Celtic rather than to the Roman tradition, and that . . . he lived and died after the manner of the typical Irish monk”; see also Colgrave, “St. Cuthbert and His Times,” in *The Relics of Saint Cuthbert*, ed. C. F. Battiscombe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956), 115–43; Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, 282–343; Harold Mytum, *The Origins of Early Christian Ireland* (London: Routledge, 1992), 21–52; Kathleen Hughes, “Evidence for

Contacts between the Churches of the Irish and English from the Synod of Whitby to the Viking Age,” in *England Before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. Peter Clemoes and Kathleen Hughes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 49–67. My seventh- and eighth-century Irish and Irish-trained saints form an interrelated group. Saints Cainnech, Fintán, Luguid, and Fínán Cam were contemporaries, dying between about 600 and 630 soon after Columba’s death; Cuthbert’s dates are 634–687. Adomnán, *Life of Columba*, mentions Columba’s contacts with Cainnech, 220–21 (1.4), 352–57 (2.13–14), 500–501 (3.17). Fintán just misses studying with Columba according to *VSH, Vita Prior S. Fintani*, 199–200 (chap. 7); Adomnán, *Life of Columba*, 206–15 (1.2). Cuthbert’s abbey of Lindisfarne was founded in Cuthbert’s infancy by Aidan of Iona, and Lindisfarne’s next two bishops also came from Iona. Although Roman discipline shifted Irish practice during the later seventh century, the change in belief was gradual and not at first profound: Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, 314–26, 391–415; Follett, *Céli Dé in Ireland*, 24–48.

46. Bede, prose *Life of Saint Cuthbert*, in *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert*, ed. and trans. Colgrave, 224–25. Hereafter cited as Bede, *Life of Saint Cuthbert*. Bede’s insertion exemplifies his discomfort with Cuthbert’s animal contacts: he also revises Cuthbert’s youthful shepherding to appear the supervision of shepherds rather than cattle, and in general turns animal encounters into didactic lessons for monks. Dominic Alexander, *Saints and Animals in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2008), 61–62, attributes Bede’s discomfort to his closer relations to Roman than to Irish tradition. Boglioni, “Les animaux dans l’hagiographie monastique,” in *L’animal exemplaire au Moyen Âge (V^e–XV^e siècle)*, ed. Jacques Berlioz and Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 1999), 60, 78, comments similarly on Bede’s revisions.

47. Alexander, *Saints and Animals*, 60.

48. Anonymous, *Life of Saint Cuthbert*, 80–81 (“post servitium autem et ministerio impleto”). The sea animals are called “lutrae” (otters) in Bede’s *Life of Saint Cuthbert*, 191. In the Middle English translation of Bede’s version, “twa bestes come fra the depe se, / Thai semed as otyrs forto be” (two beasts came up from the deep sea; they appeared to be otters): *The Life of St. Cuthbert in English Verse, c. A.D. 1450*, ed. J. T. Fowler, Publications of the Surtees Society 87 (Durham: Andrews, 1891), 50.

49. Anonymous, *Life of Saint Cuthbert*, 78–79: “quod relatu multorum bonorum agnovi. Ex quibus est Plegils presbiter. . . .”

50. Anonymous, *Life of Saint Cuthbert*, 80–81.

51. *Ibid.*, 82–83.

52. *Ibid.*

53. For this practice see Michael Herity, “Early Irish Hermitages in the Light of the *Lives* of Cuthbert,” in *St. Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community to AD 1200*, ed. Gerald Bonner, David Rollason, and Clare Stancliffe (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1989), 52–53. On northern adaptations of the *vitae* of the desert saints of antiquity, see Alexander, *Saints and Animals in the Middle Ages*, 57–84; *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert*, ed. and trans. Colgrave, 11–13.

54. Evagrius, *Vita Beati Antonii Abbatis, Auctore Sancto Athanasio*, PL 73:133, 134, 149 (chaps. 11, 14, 25); Evagrius, “Life of Antony by Athanasius,” in *Early Christian Lives*, ed. and trans. Carolinne White (London: Penguin, 1998), 17 (chap. 12): snakes flee him “as if they had been chased” (“quasi persecutorem passa”); 19 (chap. 15): crocodiles do not harm him; 40 (chap. 50): animals avoid his hermitage “as if they were afraid” (“quasi timentes”).

55. Jerome, *Vita S. Pauli Primi Eremitae*, PL 23:25, 27 (chaps. 10, 16); Jerome, “Life of Paul of Thebes by Jerome,” in White, *Early Christian Lives*, 80 (chap. 10); 83 (chap. 16). Peter Brown, *The Making of Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978), 81–101, argues that the antique *vitae* value desert asceticism so highly above social contact because of a strong social malaise arising in the fourth century and inspiring “a dogged concern with creating a new identity by social death and by prolonged introspection” (91). Alexander, *Saints and Animals in the Middle Ages*, 47, notes that the antique saints’ contact with animals “signalled alienation from humanity” rather than relationship of any kind.

56. Adomnán, *Life of Columba*, 248–49 (1.20): “benedici á sancto petivit, cum ceteris in mari herimum quaesiturus. . . . Baitanus post longos per ventosa circuitus equora herimo non reperta ad patriam reversus.” See note 66 for similar wording applied to a crane’s wanderings.

57. Adomnán, *Life of Columba*, 194–95 (1.1); Anonymous, *Life of Saint Cuthbert*, 96–97 (3.1).

58. Bitel, *Isle of the Saints*, 194–221 (quotation 197). The full ritual of hospitality would include washing, feeding, sheltering, and attending religious services. The sequence is cut short in the Anonymous *Life* by the angel’s departure before eating, making the chapter on angel hosting quite parallel to the following chapter on animal hosting.

59. The oldest surviving MS of the Anonymous *Life* titles chapters 2.2 and 2.3 “De eo quod angelo ministravit” and “De servientibus illi animalibus marinis”: Anonymous, *Life of Saint Cuthbert*, 76, 78. On this oldest and other surviving MSS, see Colgrave’s introduction, *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert*, 17–20.

60. Anonymous, *Life of Saint Cuthbert*, 76–77 (2.2).

61. The term “ministerium” for the sea animals’ gestures recalls the title of the preceding chapter, “De eo quod angelo ministravit”: Anonymous, *Life of Saint Cuthbert*, 76, 80.

62. Bitel, *Isle of the Saints*, 194, 196; see also Catherine Marie O’Sullivan, *Hospitality in Medieval Ireland, 900–1500* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004), 164–210.

63. Anonymous, *Life of Saint Cuthbert*, 70–71 (1.6).

64. London, British Library, Yates Thompson MS 26, folio 14 recto.

65. Otto Pächt, *The Rise of Pictorial Narrative in Twelfth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 1.

66. Adomnán, *Life of Columba*, 312–13 (1.48): note the similarity in language to that for Baitan’s peregrinations, note 56 above.

67. Ibid., 312–13 (1.48); Columba later praises the monk, “you have tended well the pilgrim guest” (“Benedicat te deus, mi filii, quia peregrinae bene ministrasti hospitae”), 314–15 (1.48).

68. Ibid., 312–13 (1.48).

69. Ibid., 186–187 (Second Preface).

70. Ibid., 314–15 (1.48): the crane “after studying the way for a while in the air, crossed the expanse of ocean, and in calm weather took its way back to Ireland, in a straight line of flight” (“paulisperque in aere viam speculata, ociani transvadato equore ad Everniam recto volatus cursu die repedavit tranquillo”).

71. David Salter, *Holy and Noble Beasts: Encounters with Animals in Medieval Literature* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2001), titles his chapter on saints and animals “Return to Paradise.” Alexander, *Saints and Animals in the Middle Ages*, 57, 59 writes specifically of the Irish saints that they recover “a miraculously peaceful Eden” through their “reversal of normal relations between humans and nature.” Jacques Voisenet, *Bêtes et hommes dans le monde médiéval: Le bestiaire des clercs du V^e au XII^e siècle* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 252, concludes that saints’ contact with animals accomplishes a “retour à l’âge d’or paradisiaque où Adam régnait sur la faune” (a return to the golden age in paradise when Adam reigned over the animals). Bede, *Life of Saint Cuthbert*, 224–25 (chap. 21), tacitly invokes Genesis 1:26 in revising the Anonymous *Life of Saint Cuthbert*: the ravens’ obedience to Cuthbert shows that “if a man faithfully and wholeheartedly serves the maker of all created things, it is no wonder though all creation should minister to his commands and wishes. But for the most part we lose dominion over the creation which was made subject to us, because we ourselves neglect to serve the Lord and Creator of all things” (“Qui enim auctori omnium creaturarum fideliter et integro corde famulatur, non est mirandum si eius imperiis ac votis omnis creatura deseruiat. At nos plerunque iccirco subiectai nobis creaturae dominium perdimus, quia Domino et creatori omnium ipsi servire negligemus”).

72. Anonymous, *Life of Saint Cuthbert*, 82–83 (2.4), 86–87 (2.5), 100–101 (3.5).

73. C. Ferguson O’Meara, “Saint Columba and the Conversion of the Animals in Early Insular Art.” *Micrologus* 8, 1 (2000): 79–101; Hughes, *Early Christian Ireland*; Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*.

74. *VSH, Vita S. Cainnechi*, 189 (chap. 29): “et in illa insula usque hodie mures non vixerunt.”

75. Adomnán, *Life of Columba*, 294–97 (1.41).

76. *VSH, Vita S. Finani*, 155 (chap. 13); *VSH, Vita S. Cainnechi*, 197 (chap. 58).

77. Adomnán, *Life of Columba*, 362–63 (2.17); 386–89 (2.27). Luguid also masters a water monster: *VSH, Vita Prior S. Lugidi*, 136 (chap. 26). On animals in relation to pagan beliefs see Boglioni, “Il santo e gli animali nell’alto medioevo,” 943–44, 970–72.

78. *VSH, Vita S. Finani*, 153 (chap. 3): “Finanus traxit baculum suum post se per terram, et non ausus est unus eorum transire vestigium baculi sancti.”

79. *VSH, Vita Prior S. Fintani*, 199 (chap. 3): two wolves guard the herd “velut canes comunes”; *VSH, Vita S. Cainnechi*, 197–98 (chap. 59); *VSH, Vita S. Finani*, 159 (chap. 32): the wolf is to guard “quasi canis modestus.”

80. Tangential to this chapter’s concerns is the extent to which medieval Christianity may have fostered or resisted the exploitation of nature. A first influential statement on this question was Lynn White, Jr., “The Historical Roots of Our Ecologic Crisis,” *Science* 155

(1967): 1203–7. White answers criticism of that essay in “Continuing the Conversation,” in *Western Man and Environmental Ethics: Attitudes Toward Nature and Technology*, ed. Ian G. Barbour (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1973), 55–64. Michael W. George, “Gawain’s Struggle with Ecology: Attitudes Toward the Natural World in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*,” *Journal of Ecocriticism* 2, 2 (July 2010): 30–44, reviews recent discussion of ecological thought in medieval Christianity.

81. *VSH, Vita Prior S. Lugidi*, 137 (chap. 31): “assumptis secum paucis monachis et quinque vaccis, in itinere venit. . .” On the founding of Lugid’s (Mo Lúa’s) settlements: Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, 257–58.

82. Elijah: 1 Kings 17:3–6; Paul of Thebes: Jerome, *Vita S. Pauli Primi Eremitae*, 25 (chap. 10); Jerome, “Life of Paul of Thebes by Jerome,” in White, *Early Christian Lives*, 80 (chap. 10).

83. Anonymous, *Life of Saint Cuthbert*, 86–87 (2.5).

84. *VSH, Vita S. Cainnechi*, 191 (chap. 34). The element of reciprocity is stressed in calling both meals “prandium,” normally a “breakfast” or “lunch” rather than an animal’s meal.

85. Pithy examples are *VSH, Vita Prior S. Lugidi*, 136 (ch. 28); 137 (ch. 32). In the latter chapter, Luguid formalizes his avoidance of a flock of sheep into a maxim: “for wherever there is a sheep, there will be a woman; and where there is a woman, there is sin, and where sin is, the devil is, and where the devil is, there is hell.”

86. Anonymous, *Life of Saint Cuthbert*, 100–103 (3.5).

87. 2 Thessalonians 3:10. On monastic labor before and during the transition to Roman practices, see Bitel, *Isle of the Saints*, 128–44.

88. *VSH, Vita S. Finani*, 159 (chap. 32): “Lupus vero iste, quasi canis modestus, erit custos vitulorum tuorum usque ad mortem suam et non nocebit ulli animanti” (“Truly that wolf, like a humble dog, will guard your calves until his death and will not harm any living thing”).

89. Columbanus, “Regula Monachorum,” *Sancti Columbani Opera*, ed. and trans. G. S. M. Walker, *Scriptores Latini Hibernici* 2 (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1957), 125. Columbanus (c. 540–615) was an Irish missionary credited with several foundations on the continent and this monastic rule combining Celtic and Benedictine features.

90. Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, 380–88; Hughes, *Early Christian Ireland*, 90–93.

91. Anonymous, *Life of Saint Cuthbert*, 90–91 (2.7): “auxilium Dei.”

92. *Ibid.*, 98–99 (3.4): “quia potens est Deus de rupe petrina petenti aquam suscitare.”

93. *Ibid.*, 100–101 (3.4): “Quod vero a fratribus deposcens non perpetrasset, et hoc illis Deus non inputet in malum nisi a Domino nostro Iesu Christo facta oratione adiutorium accepisset. Nam cum eadem nocte mare fluctibus undans in honorem servi Dei, stipitem xii pedum detulens specialiter, iam ad hostium scopuli ubi ponendus erat in aedificium natantem deportavit.”

94. *Ibid.*, 102–3 (3.5); *VSH, Vita S. Finani*, 159 (chap. 32): “cum humilitate et

penitencia.” Cainnech’s stag, startled as he held the saint’s book in his antlers as in a lectern, similarly returns with the saint’s book “quasi monachus fugitivus ad suum abbatem” (like a wayward monk to his abbot): *VSH, Vita S. Cainnechi*, 193 (chap. 43).

95. Gillian Clark, “The Fathers and the Animals: The Rule of Reason?” in *Animals on the Agenda: Questions About Animals for Theology and Ethics*, ed. Andrew Linzey and Dorothy Yamamoto (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 67–79; see also Chapter 3, “A Bestiary’s Taxonomy of Creatures.”

96. In her comprehensive review of philosophical traditions, Elisabeth de Fontenay, *Le silence des bêtes* (Paris: Fayard, 1998) points out that the Judeo-Christian definition of the human through Logos and Verbum requires that animals be without language, and indeed makes their speechlessness their most intransigent difference from humans. For Jacques Derrida, *The Animal That Therefore I Am*, ed. Marie-Louise Mallet, trans. David Wills (New York: Fordham University Press, 2008), 27, “logocentrism is first of all a thesis regarding the animal, the animal deprived of the *logos*, deprived of the *can-have-the-logos*.” Medieval sign theory echoes the sharp theological distinctions between humans and animals. Grammarians note that chickens use different clucks for alarm and for food, that dogs use different barks for aggression and greeting, and so on. Such cases are sometimes classed as signs that work by inference—a certain bark should lead us to infer that a dog is angry, in the way smoke leads us to infer that there is a fire—or sometimes they are classed as voices that signify naturally, as a sick person’s groan signifies pain. Surveying medieval “zoosemiotics,” Umberto Eco and his working group note that the grammarians do not trouble over their differing classifications of animal sounds because their real concern is with defining the uniqueness of human language by contrasting it with all other noises, from barks to burps: Umberto Eco et al., “On Animal Language in the Medieval Classification of Signs,” in *On the Medieval Theory of Signs*, ed. Umberto Eco and Costantino Marmo (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1989), 3–41.

97. Adomnán, *Life of Columba*, 522–23 (3.23).

98. *Ibid.*, 522–25 (3.23).

99. *Ibid.*, 524–25 (3.23).

100. *Ibid.*, 450–53 (2.4); 432–33 (2.39); 326–29 (2.2), 328–31 (2.3); *VSH, Vita S. Cainnechi*, 187 (chap. 20).

101. These episodes illustrate a conception of interpenetrating, non-dichotomous realms that pervades early Irish poetry. Alfred Siewers traces in this poetry “an intense overlap of social, personal, and spiritual place in regional landscape contexts, one that embodied itself textually”: Alfred K. Siewers, *Strange Beauty: Ecocritical Approaches to Early Medieval Landscape* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 19–20.

102. Alexander, *Saints and Animals*, 60.

103. Timothy Morton, *The Ecological Thought* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010); N. Katherine Hayles, *How We Became Posthuman: Virtual Bodies in Cybernetics, Literature, and Informatics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); Ursula K. Heise, *Sense of Place and Sense of Planet: The Environmental Imagination of the Global* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

104. Stancliffe, “Cuthbert and the Polarity between Pastor and Solitary,” 27.
105. *Life of Saint Cuthbert in English Verse*, 69 n.4.
106. Konrad Z. Lorenz, *King Solomon’s Ring: New Light on Animal Ways*, trans. Marjorie Kerr Wilson (New York: Thomas Crowell, 1952), 158.
107. Yves Bonnefoy, “Lifting Our Eyes from the Page,” trans. John Naughton, *Critical Inquiry* 16 (1990): 806; Kate Rigby, “Ecocriticism,” in *Introducing Criticism at the 21st Century*, ed. Julian Wolfreys (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002), 151–78.
108. Bonnefoy, “Lifting Our Eyes from the Page,” 801–2.
109. Noah: Genesis 8:6–7; Paul of Thebes: Jerome, *Vita S. Pauli Primi Eremitae*, 25 (chap. 10); Jerome, “Life of Paul of Thebes by Jerome,” 80 (chap. 10).
110. Bonnefoy, “Lifting Our Eyes from the Page,” 797.

CHAPTER 2. WOLF, MAN, AND WOLF-MAN

1. Marie de France, *Les fables: Edition critique*, ed. Charles Brucker (Louvain: Peeters, 1991), Prologue, lines 5, 23–26. Hereafter cited in my text and notes by fable number and line number.

2. On antique and medieval collections of fables in the mode of Aesop (often called “Aesopic”) including Marie’s collection, see especially Thomas Honegger, *From Phoenix to Chauntecleer: Medieval English Animal Poetry* (Tübingen: Francke, 1996); Hans Robert Jauss, *Untersuchungen zur mittelalterlichen Tierdichtung* (Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 1959); Jill Mann, *From Aesop to Reynard: Beast Literature in Medieval Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); Edward Wheatley, *Mastering Aesop: Medieval Education, Chaucer, and His Followers* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000); Jan M. Ziolkowski, *Talking Animals: Medieval Latin Beast Poetry, 750–1150* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993).

3. Mann, *From Aesop to Reynard*, 32. Anthropomorphism (locating human characteristics in other animals) can be an expansive and productive tactic for thinking about animals (see Chapter 6), but the anthropomorphism of fable tends to be reductive. Derrida dismisses fable in the essay most under consideration in this chapter: “We know the history of fabulization and how it remains an anthropomorphic taming, a moralizing subjection, a domestication. Always a discourse *of* man, on man, indeed on the animality of man, but for and in man”: Jacques Derrida, *The Animal That Therefore I Am*, ed. Marie-Louise Mallet, trans. David Wills (New York: Fordham University Press, 2008), 37; Jacques Derrida, *L’animal que donc je suis*, ed. Marie-Louise Mallet (Paris: Galilée, 2006), 60: “L’affabulation, on en connaît l’histoire, reste un apprivoisement anthropomorphique, un assujettissement moralisateur, une domestication. Toujours un discours *de* l’homme: sur l’homme; voire sur l’animalité de l’homme, mais pour l’homme, et en l’homme.” Derrida later returned to beast fables when taking up the question of human sovereignty in *The Beast and the Sovereign*, vol. 1, ed. Michel Lisse, Marie-Louise Mallet, and Ginette Michaud, trans. Geoffrey Bennington (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

4. Derrida, *The Animal That Therefore I Am*, 7; *L'animal que donc je suis*, 23: “Car la pensée de l’animal, s’il y en a, revient à la poésie, voilà une thèse, et c’est ce dont la philosophie, par essence, a dû se priver.” The phrase “la pensée de l’animal” could be translated “thought on animals” or “the thought of animals”; a translation rendering the ambiguity would be “animal thought.”

5. Derrida, “Che cos’è la poesia?” *Poesia* 1, 11 (November 1988), reprinted in Jacques Derrida, *Points. . . : Interviews, 1974–1994*, ed. Elisabeth Weber, trans. Peggy Kamuf and others (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1995), 295 (his italics); French original, 294: “le rêve d’apprendre par coeur. . . . J’appelle poème cela même qui apprend le coeur, ce qui invente le coeur, enfin *ce que* le mot de coeur semble vouloir dire. . . . Il t’aura fallu déséparer la mémoire, désarmer la culture, savoir oublier le savoir” (his italics).

6. Wheatley, *Mastering Aesop*, 17; Wheatley further characterizes fable as “a mode of discourse, a set of rhetorical practices,” 5. Schulze-Busacker makes a case that Marie’s Prologue to her *Fables* provides the first attempt to conceive fable as a literary genre: “Le Romulus vers 1180: Walter l’Anglais, Alexandre Nequam et Marie de France,” in *Miscellanea mediaevalia: Mélanges offerts à Philippe Ménard*, ed. J. Claude Faucon, Alain Labbé, and Danielle Quéruel, 2 vols. (Paris: Champion, 1998), 2: 1213–33. On the Classical use of fable in rhetorical argument and on Marie’s transformations of her sources, see Mann, *From Aesop to Reynard*, 2–8; 53–97.

7. Marie, *Fables*, Epilogue, ll. 4, 9; Marie de France, *Les Lais de Marie de France*, ed. Jean Rychner, Classiques Français du Moyen Age 93 (Paris: Champion, 1983), Prologue, l. 43. Hereafter cited in my text by title of the lay and line number. Discussions of Marie’s identity and authorship include June Hall McCash, “La vie seinte Audree: A Fourth Text by Marie de France?” *Speculum* 77 (2002): 744–77; and R. Howard Bloch, *The Anonymous Marie de France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 1–18.

8. Diana Fuss, “Introduction: Human, All Too Human,” in *Human, All Too Human*, ed. Diana Fuss (New York: Routledge, 1996), 2. In medieval sources, of course, “man” and “men” are the preferred terms for the entity now termed “human” but still powerfully inflected toward masculinity.

9. Marie, *Fables*, “Autresi est de meinte gent” (1. 17); “Issi funt li riche seignur” (2. 31); “De curt a rei est enement” (36. 25); “Par ceste fable del peissun / nus mustre essample del felun. . . .” (12. 29–30).

10. Augustine of Hippo, *Eighty-Three Different Questions*, trans. David L. Mosher, The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation, vol. 70 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1982), 56–57 (Question 30: “Has Everything Been Created for Man’s Use?”); Augustine, *De diversis quaestionibus LXXXIII, PL* 40: 19–20: “Et frui quidem cibo et qualibet corporali voluptate non adeo absurde existimantur et bestiae: *uti* autem aliqua re non potest nisi animal quod rationis est particeps. . . . Omnia ergo quae facta sunt, in *usum* hominis facta sunt, quia omnibus utitur judicando ratio, quae homini data est.” My italics: note the resonance between Augustine’s claim that only humans can *use* as well as enjoy creation and Heidegger’s claim summarized below that animals are “poor in world” in that they are not “world-forming.”

11. Ambrose of Milan, *Hexameron, Paradise, and Cain and Abel*, trans. John J. Savage, *The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation*, vol. 42 (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1961), 3–283; Ambrose, *Hexameron*, PL 14: 219–72. Chapter 3 treats Ambrose’s work in more detail.

12. Gillian Clark, “The Fathers and the Animals: The Rule of Reason?” in *Animals on the Agenda: Questions About Animals for Theology and Ethics*, ed. Andrew Linzey and Dorothy Yamamoto (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 67.

13. Karl Tobias Steel, *How to Make a Human: Animals and Violence in the Middle Ages* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2011); Gary Steiner, *Anthropocentrism and Its Discontents: The Moral Status of Animals in the History of Western Philosophy* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2005); Luc Ferry, “Neither Man nor Stone,” and Verena Conley, “Manly Values: Luc Ferry’s Environmental Philosophy,” in *Animal Philosophy: Essential Readings in Continental Thought*, ed. Peter Atterton and Matthew Calarco (London: Continuum, 2004), 147–63.

14. This fable is not drawn from the earlier *Romulus* manuscripts, although it later passes from Marie’s *Fables* into the collection known as the *Romulus LBG*: Mann, *From Aesop to Reynard*, 8, 10–11.

15. Mann, *From Aesop to Reynard*, 5.

16. Or, drawing on Derrida, *The Beast and the Sovereign*, 9, 206–16, the wolf’s sovereign transcendence of the law could ground an apologue on relations between state and church. Ayers Bagley, “A Wolf at School,” *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Teaching* 4, 2 (1993): 38–41, comments at length on this complex image from the Cathedral of Parma and its relation to written versions of the scene; see also Arturo C. Quintavalle, *La cattedrale di Parma e il romanico europeo* (Parma: Università di Parma, Istituto di storia dell’arte, 1974), 181–83, fig. 507.

17. Frank Kermode, *The Genesis of Secrecy: On the Interpretation of Narrative* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979), 40. Kermode discusses differences among interpretations of the parable of the Good Samaritan. Fable, in contrast to parable, is ostensibly simple and evident in its meaning, but the proliferation of possible meanings for “The Priest and the Wolf” illustrates that fables too are to some degree occulted or at least ambiguous.

18. Marie’s *Fable* 81 efficiently condenses the predominant imaginings about both species: the rational Christian human and the cruel predatory wolf. On the conjunction of medieval thought about wolves and wolf distribution, ecology, and contact with human populations: Delort, *Les animaux ont une histoire*, 245–71; Aleksander Pluskowski, *Wolves and the Wilderness in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2006). Pluskowski concludes that, despite their reputation, wolves did not pose much threat to human life in the medieval period.

19. Marie’s verb “espeler” can mean “read out, explain”: A. J. Greimas, *Dictionnaire de l’ancien français jusqu’au milieu du XIV^e siècle* (Paris: Larousse, 1969), *espeldre, espeler* (v.) cites Wace’s “baille lur les briefs, et les moz lur espele,” which must refer to reading and explicating, not spelling. Drawing on Marie’s text, the *Romului anglici cunctis exortae fabulae*

[*Romulus LBG*], in *Les fabulistes latins*, ed. Léopold Hervieux, 2nd ed., 2 vols (Paris: n.p., 1893–99), 2: 642 uses *sillabicare*, broad like *espeler* in its field of reference: R. E. Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965): *syllabico* (v.), “to articulate in syllables, spell.”

20. L. O. Aranye Fradenburg considers the place of pleasure in animal encounters and representations (and in medieval studies more broadly): “Living Chaucer,” *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 33 (2011): 41–64; “‘So That We May Speak of Them’: Enjoying the Middle Ages,” *New Literary History* 28 (1997): 205–30. On the place of affect in contemporary animal studies: Donna Haraway, *When Species Meet* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008).

21. Marie, *Fables*, 73: 75–80; 79: 33–40; 102: 20–25; Judith Barban, “*Lai ester*: Acceptance of the Status Quo in the *Fables* of Marie de France,” *Romance Quarterly* 49 (2002): 3–11. The stability of “nature” in the fables underwrites as well their apologues declaring that human nature is intransigent.

22. Marie, *Fables*, 10, 16, 60, 81.

23. In Ferrara’s twelfth-century cathedral the carving of this fable bears the inscription “A B C for heaven”: Bagley, “A Wolf at School,” 41. On primers and first learning see Martha Dana Rust, *Imaginary Worlds in Medieval Books: Exploring the Manuscript Matrix* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 41–50; she quotes, 41, John Trevisa’s recollection of learning his ABCs:

Croys was maad al of reed [red]
In the bigynnyng of my book
That is clepid ‘God me spede’
In the firste lessoun that I took;
Thanne I lerned a and be [A and B]
And othir lettres by here names.

24. My discussion touches only on the predominant strains of Christian thought about animals; not all the church fathers were in agreement with one another. Basil of Caesarea stated that animals do not exist merely for human use but for themselves as well; John Chrysostom argued that animals exist to testify to God’s greatness: Richard Sorabji, *Animal Minds and Human Morals: The Origins of the Western Debate* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1993), 195–207; Michel Pastoureau, “L’animal et l’historien du Moyen Age,” in *L’animal exemplaire au Moyen Age (V^e–XV^e siècle)*, ed. Jacques Berlioz and Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 1999), 14–16.

25. Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, trans. Stephen A. Barney, W. J. Lewis, J. A. Beach, and Oliver Berghof (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 11.1.5 (p. 231); Isidore, *Etymologiae sive Origines*, ed. W. M. Lindsay, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), 11.1.5 (vol. 2, p. 1). Isidore, *ibid.*, cites Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* 1.84 among his precedents: “while the rest of the stooping animals look at the ground, he gave the human an uplifted countenance, and ordered him to see the sky, and to raise his upturned face to

the stars”; “Pronaque cum spectant animalia cetera terram, os homini sublime dedit caelumque videre iussit, et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus.”

26. Douay-Rheims translation of the *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*, Genesis 1:26, “ait, faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram et praesit piscibus maris et volatilibus caeli et bestiis universaeque terrae omnique reptili quod movetur in terra.”

27. Augustine of Hippo, *The Literal Meaning of Genesis*, trans. John Hammond Taylor, 2 vols (New York: Newman Press, 1982), 1:96; Augustine, *De genesi ad litteram*, PL, 34:292: “factum hominem ad imaginem Dei, in quo irrationalibus animantibus antecellit. Id autem est ipsa ratio, vel mens, vel intelligentia, vel si quo alio vocabulo commodius appellatur.”

28. Sorabji, *Animal Minds and Human Morals*, 195–207; G. Clark, “The Fathers and the Animals: The Rule of Reason?”; Wanda Cizewski, “The Meaning and Purpose of Animals According to Augustine’s Genesis Commentaries,” in *Augustine: Presbyter Factus Sum*, ed. Joseph T. Lienhard, Earl C. Muller, and Roland J. Teske (New York: Peter Lang, 1993), 363–73.

29. In the earliest of the surviving second-family bestiaries, “appellans unicuique nomen ex praesenti institutione, iuxta conditionem naturae cui serviret”: Willene B. Clark, *A Medieval Book of Beasts: The Second-Family Bestiary. Commentary, Art, Text and Translation* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006), 150. The source is Isidore, *Etymologies*, livre XII: *Des animaux*, ed. and trans. Jacques André (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1986), 36–39. See Chapter 3, n. 78.

30. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae: Latin Text and English Translation, Introduction, Notes, Appendices and Glossaries*, vol. 17, ed. and trans. Thomas Gilby (Cambridge: Blackfriars, 1970), 122ae, question 13, article 2 (pp. 128–29): “Et idem apparet in motibus horologiorum et omnium ingeniorum humanorum quae arte fiunt . . . Et propter hoc etiam quaedam animalia dicuntur prudentia vel sagacia, non quod in eis sit aliqua ratio vel electio.” (“The same appears in the movements of clocks and other works of human art. . . . That is why we call some animals clever or intelligent, not because they are endowed with reason or choice.”) Descartes’s analogous statements are discussed in John Cottingham, “‘A Brute to the Brutes?’: Descartes’ Treatment of Animals,” *Philosophy* 53 (1978): 551–59. Cottingham counters the accusation that Descartes believed animals felt no pain, but he acknowledges that Descartes was consistently a dualist in his thought on animals, reserving to humans qualities he termed *mens*, *raison*, *esprit*, *âme raisonnable*.

31. Text quoted from an excerpt from Heidegger, *The Fundamental Concepts of Metaphysics*, reprinted in Atterton and Calarco, *Animal Philosophy*, 17, accompanying the discussion by Matthew Calarco, “Heidegger’s Zoontology,” 18–30. See also Matthew Calarco, *Zoographies: The Question of the Animal from Heidegger to Derrida* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 15–53; Jacques Derrida, “Geschlecht II: Heidegger’s Hand,” trans. John P. Leavey, Jr., in *Deconstruction and Philosophy: The Texts of Jacques Derrida*, ed. John Sallis (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 161–96. Heidegger’s “world” signifies awareness of other beings and the culture-making capacities that derive from awareness of other beings.

32. On this argument running throughout Kant’s works, see John Llewelyn, *The Middle Voice of Ecological Conscience: A Chiasmic Reading of Responsibility in the Neighborhood of*

Levinas, Heidegger and Others (New York: St. Martin's, 1991), 68–88; and Alexander Broadie and Elizabeth M. Pybus, "Kant's Treatment of Animals," *Philosophy* 49 (1974): 375–83; in conforming to "the moral views of ordinary men" (375), Kant's argument that animals should be well treated in their own right makes sense despite its irrational departure from Kant's principle that only humans can be of moral concern in their own right: "Having ceremoniously ushered animals out of the front door of the moral universe, Kant has, with commendable discretion, tried to smuggle them in again through the back" (383). The argument that cruelty to animals could lead to cruelty to fellow humans is longstanding: James Serpell, *In the Company of Animals: A Study of Human-Animal Relationships* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 105, notes its presence in works of Aquinas, Hume, and Hogarth.

33. Emmanuel Levinas, "The Name of a Dog, or Natural Rights," in *Difficult Freedom: Essays on Judaism*, trans. Seán Hand (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990 [1963]), 151–53. This essay is discussed by Llewelyn, *The Middle Voice of Ecological Conscience*, 49–67; Peter Atterton, "Ethical Cynicism," in Atterton and Calarco, *Animal Philosophy*, 51–61; and Calarco, *Zoographies*, 5–77.

34. Levinas, "Name of a Dog," 153.

35. Levinas, "Interview," in Atterton and Calarco, *Animal Philosophy*, 49.

36. Martin Heidegger, *What Is Called Thinking?* trans. J. Glenn Gray and Fred Wieck (New York: Harper and Row, 1968 [1954]), 16; Derrida, "Geschlecht II: Heidegger's Hand," 174: "Nur ein Wesen, das spricht, d.h. denkt, kann die Hand haben und in der Handhabung Werke der Hand vollbringen." See also Cary Wolfe, *Animal Rites: American Culture, the Discourse of Species, and Posthumanist Theory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 62–66.

37. A further strand of philosophical writing, utilitarianism, begins with Jeremy Bentham, moves on to John Stuart Mill, and develops in the rights-based philosophy of Peter Singer: see *Singer and His Critics*, ed. Dale Jamieson (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999); *In Defense of Animals: The Second Wave*, ed. Peter Singer (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006). Utilitarianism assigns moral weight to animal well-being and calls for standards of treatment that are based on differing capacities for sentience. This thread of philosophical work is not as resonant with medieval thought as are the rationalist philosophies, although Judith Barad attempts to align the work of Aquinas with contemporary rights-based arguments: "The Ontology of Animal Rights," in *The Future of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: Problems, Trends, and Opportunities for Research*, ed. Roger Dahood, Arizona Studies in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), 29–42.

38. Derrida, *L'animal que donc je suis; The Animal That Therefore I Am*. My discussion is almost entirely confined to the first few pages of the first lecture, in which Derrida comments at length on the creation of Adam and Eve and the naming of the animals (Genesis 2:18–25).

39. Derrida, *The Animal That Therefore I Am*, 30; *L'animal que donc je suis*, 52.

40. *Ibid.*, 29; 51: "Tout ce que je dirai ne consistera surtout pas à effacer la limite, mais à multiplier ses figures, à compliquer, épaissir, délinéariser, plier, diviser la ligne justement en la faisant croître et multiplier."

41. Derrida, *The Animal That Therefore I Am*, 104: “Let me note very quickly in passing, concerning intellectual autobiography, that whereas the deconstruction of ‘logocentrism’ had, for necessary reasons, to be developed over the years as deconstruction of ‘phallogocentrism,’ then of ‘carnophallogocentrism,’ its very first substitution of the concept of trace or mark for those of speech, sign, or signifier was destined in advance, and quite deliberately, to cross the frontiers of anthropocentrism, the limits of a language confined to human words and discourse. Mark, gramma, trace, and *différance* refer differentially to all living things, all the relations between living and nonliving”; Derrida, *L’animal que donc je suis*, 144: “Je note très vite en passant, au titre de l’autobiographie intellectuelle, que, si la déconstruction du ‘logocentrisme’ a dû, tout nécessairement, se déployer à travers les années en déconstruction du ‘phallogocentrisme,’ puis du ‘carnophallogocentrisme,’ la substitution tout initiale du concept de trace ou de marque aux concepts de parole, de signe ou de signifiant était d’avance destinée, et délibérément, à passer la frontière d’un anthropocentrisme, la limite d’un langage confiné dans le discours et les mots humains. La marque, le gramme, la trace, la *différance*, concernent différenciellement tous les vivants, tous les rapports du vivant au non-vivant.”

42. Derrida, *The Animal That Therefore I Am*, 11–12, 18–29; *L’animal que donc je suis*, 28–30, 37–50.

43. Douay-Rheims translation of the *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*, Genesis 2:18–20, “[18] Dixit quoque Dominus Deus, non est bonum esse hominem solum; faciamus ei adiutorium similem sui. [19] Formatis igitur Dominus Deus de humo cunctis animantibus terrae et universis volatilibus caeli, adduxit ea ad Adam ut videret quid vocaret ea: omne enim quod vocavit Adam animae viventis ipsum est nomen eius. [20] Appellavitque Adam nominibus suis cuncta animantia et universa vilatilia caeli et omnes bestias terrae; Adam vero non inveniebatur adiutor similis eius.”

44. In addition to references cited earlier in this chapter, see John Fyler, *Language and the Declining World in Chaucer, Dante, and Jean de Meun* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 1–17.

45. Lisa Guenther, “Who Follows Whom? Derrida, Animals and Women,” *Derrida Today* 2 (2009): 151–65 points out that in Derrida’s lectures on animals Adam, man, and humanity tend to be equated, and the interrelation between human domination of animals and male domination of women is elided.

46. See Chapter 3 on MS Add. 11283 and other second-family bestiaries.

47. Derrida, *The Animal That Therefore I Am*, 18; see also 27–33; *L’animal que donc je suis*, 37: “pouvoir de manifester,” “un langage de traces muettes.”

48. Derrida, *L’animal que donc je suis*, 21, 28, 58; *The Animal That Therefore I Am*, 6, 11, 35. On the importance of “se regarder” in the work of Levinas: John Llewelyn, “Am I Obsessed by Bobby? (Humanism of the Other Animal),” in *Re-Reading Levinas*, ed. Robert Bernasconi and Simon Critchley (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), 234–45.

49. These sources commingle and interact. Augustine of Hippo, *The City of God Against the Pagans*, ed. and trans. George E. McCracken et al., 7 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957–72), 5: 419–28 (book 18, chaps. 16–17), offers a substantial

analysis of how Christian belief can be reconciled with werewolf manifestations and other instances of shape shifting. On relations among popular and Christian beliefs about werewolves, Dennis M. Kratz, “Fictus Lupus: The Werewolf in Christian Thought,” *Classical Folia* 30, 1 (1976): 57–79, and Laurence Harf-Lancner, “La Métamorphose illusoire: des théories chrétiennes de la métamorphose aux images médiévales du loup-garou,” *Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 40 (1985): 208–26 hold the minority position that ideas of the medieval werewolf are all consonant with Christian thought. Caroline Walker Bynum, *Metamorphosis and Identity* (New York: Zone Books, 2001); and Carl Watkins, “‘Folklore’ and ‘Popular Religion’ in Britain During the Middle Ages,” *Folklore* 115 (2004): 140–50 argue for more diversity in belief but within a capacious religious framework. Matthieu Boyd, “Melion and the Wolves of Ireland,” *Neophilologus* 93 (2009): 555–70, focuses on Celtic material; Bernard Merdrignac, “Les loups, saint Guénolé et son double,” in *Religion et mentalités au Moyen Âge: Mélanges en l’honneur d’Hervé Martin*, ed. Sophie Cassagnes-Brouquet (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2003), 457–65 discusses a little-known account of Irish werewolves in the work of Patrick, Bishop of Dublin (1074–84). For wider focus encompassing Classical and Christian influences on twelfth-century werewolf texts, see Salvatore Battaglia, “Il mito del licantropo nel ‘Bisclavret’ di Maria di Francia,” *Filologia romanza* 3 (1956): 229–53; Bynum, *Metamorphosis and Identity*, 77–111; Francis Dubost, *Aspects fantastiques de la littérature narrative médiévale (XI^{ème}–XIII^{ème} siècles): L’autre, l’ailleurs, l’autrefois*, 2 vols. (Geneva: Slatkine, 1991), 1:540–67; Claude Lecouteux, *Fées, sorcières et loups-garous au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Imago, 1992), 121–44; Joyce E. Salisbury, *The Beast Within: Animals in the Middle Ages* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 159–66; and Leslie A. Sconduto, *Metamorphoses of the Werewolf: A Literary Study from Antiquity Through the Renaissance* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 2008). Bynum, *Metamorphosis and Identity*, 95–97, and Sconduto, *Metamorphoses of the Werewolf*, 39–56, provide interpretations of *Bisclavret* in relation to contemporaneous thought on metamorphosis.

50. Work on Ovid in the *Lais* includes SunHee Gertz, *Echoes and Reflections: Memory and Memorials in Ovid and Marie de France*, Faux Titre 232 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2003); and Kristine Brightenback, “The *Metamorphoses* and Narrative *Conjointure* in ‘Deus Amanz,’ ‘Yonec,’ and ‘Le Laüstic,’” *Romanic Review* 72 (1981): 1–12. The relation of *Bisclavret* to Ovid’s myths of Lycaon and Acteon remains to be considered in the scholarship.

51. Crane, “How to Translate a Werewolf,” in *The Medieval Translator/Traduire au Moyen Âge*, vol. 10, ed. Jacqueline Jenkins and Olivier Bertrand (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 365–74; Peggy McCracken, “Translation and Animals in Marie de France’s *Lais*,” *Australian Journal of French Studies* 46 (2009): 206–18.

52. Greimas, *Dictionnaire de l’ancien français*, *garol*, *garolf*, *garwalf* (n.m.); *Oxford English Dictionary*, ed. J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), *werewolf*, *werwolf* (n.). *Francique* designates the germanized idiom of Franks living in Gaul.

53. On the contiguity of lore about wolves and werewolves, see Gael Milin, *Les chiens de dieu: La représentation du loup-garou en Occident (XI^e–XX^e siècles)* (Brest: Centre de Recherche Bretonne et Celtique, 1993); Pluskowski, *Wolves and the Wilderness*, 172–92.

54. These etymologies and others are discussed in Glyn S. Burgess, *The Lais of Marie de France: Text and Context* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987), 9; subsequently Hans Schwerteck, “Eine neue Etymologie von *Bisclavret*,” *Romanische Forschungen* 104 (1992): 160–63, proposed the etymology “falsely made/counterfeited wolf,” which also carries the idea of a species modification.

55. Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia: Recreation for an Emperor*, ed. and trans. S.E. Banks and J. W. Binns (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), Book 3, Preface (pp. 558–59): “Mirabilia vero dicimus que nostre cognicioni non subiacent, etiam cum sunt naturalia; sed et mirabilia constituit ignorantia reddende rationis quare sic sit.” Gervase collects werewolf anecdotes, Book 3, Chapter 120 (pp. 813–15).

56. Marie, *Lais*, Prologue, 34–38, and *Bisclavret*, 317–18: “De Bisclavret fu fez li lais / Pur remembrance a tuz dis mais” (the lay concerning Bisclavret was composed as a remembrance for all time).

57. On conjunctions of marvel, adventure, and heroic challenge in lay and romance, see Jeanne-Marie Boivin, “Bisclavret et Muldumarec: La part de l’ombre dans les *Lais*,” in *Amour et merveille dans les Lais de Marie de France*, ed. Jean Dufournet (Paris: Champion, 1995), 147–68; Susan Crane, *Gender and Romance in Chaucer’s “Canterbury Tales”* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994), 132–64; Douglas Kelly, *The Art of Medieval French Romance* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992), 146–262; Phillipe Ménard, *Les Lais de Marie de France: Contes d’amour et d’aventures du Moyen Age*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1995), 51–99.

58. The narrative declares twice that she has betrayed her husband: “issi fu Bisclavret trahiz”; “coment ele l’aveit trahi” (*Bisclavret*, 125, 267). Betrayal is a terrible failing in the feudal and courtly ideologies that the *Lais* often sustain, but not all scholars find unambiguous fault with the wife for her actions: e.g., Matilda Tomaryn Bruckner, “Of Men and Beasts in *Bisclavret*,” *Romanic Review* 81 (1991): 251–69; H. Marshall Leicester, “The Voice of the Hind: The Emergence of Feminine Discontent in the *Lais* of Marie de France,” in *Reading Medieval Culture: Essays in Honor of Robert W. Hanning*, ed. Robert M. Stein and Sandra Pierson Prior (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005), 145–49.

59. “Perdre,” *Bisclavret*, 25–27, 127–29, 253–54; “devenir,” *Bisclavret*, 60, 120–21, 292. In a complex assertion about loss, the knight anticipates the loss of his wife’s love if she learns his secret: “You would stop loving me, and I myself would lose on account of it” (“de m’amur vus partirai / E mei meïsmes en perdrai,” *Bisclavret*, 55–56). He loses her love, and he also loses for a time his capacity to “become,” to move back and forth between states and places at liberty. It has been widely noted that *Bisclavret* continues to be a bisclavret at the lay’s end. However, the kind of “becoming animal” in *Bisclavret* does not resemble the annihilation of identity envisioned in Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 232–309. As many scholars have noted, the plot of *Bisclavret* culminates in homosocial stability and feudal coherence. A case for the relevance of *A Thousand Plateaus* to other medieval works is made by Jeffrey J. Cohen, *Medieval Identity Machines* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 41–44, 182–84.

60. Here many readers of the lay make a full stop, not moving beyond this representation of a dichotomy between man and beast: e.g., the bisclavret has the intelligence, memory, and feelings of a man, Dubost, *Aspects fantastiques*, 1:564; the knight becomes an animal only in appearance while keeping the soul of a man, Carine Bouillot, “Quand l’homme se fait animal, deux cas de métamorphose chez Marie de France: *Yonec* et *Bisclavret*,” in *Magie et illusion au Moyen Âge*, Senefiance 42 (Aix-en-Provence: CUERMA, 1999), 69–70; the bisclavret’s actions are “the effect of his submerged human intellect or human nature, which has been forced to reside in the bestial shape,” Emanuel Mickel, Jr., *Marie de France* (New York: Twayne, 1974), 81.

61. Jacques Le Goff, *La civilisation de l’occident médiéval* (Paris: Arthaud, 1967), 440: “La civilisation médiévale est une civilisation du geste.” Cited by Jean-Claude Schmitt, *La raison des gestes dans l’Occident médiéval* (Paris: Gallimard, 1990), 14.

62. Derrida, *The Animal That Therefore I Am*, 27; Derrida, *L’animal que donc je suis*, 48: “le logocentrisme est d’abord une thèse sur l’animal, sur l’animal privé de *logos*, privé du *pouvoir-avoir* le *logos*: thèse, position ou présupposition qui se maintient d’Aristote à Heidegger, de Descartes à Kant, Lévinas et Lacan.”

63. As scholars have noted, the king is obtuse at other points in the narrative: he needs a wise advisor to suggest that the bisclavret’s bites may have a motive and that the bisclavret should be left alone to change into human form (*Bisclavret*, 239–60, 281–92).

64. Derrida, *The Animal That Therefore I Am*, 48; *L’animal que donc je suis*, 74: “Il ne s’agirait pas de ‘rendre la parole’ aux animaux mais peut-être d’accéder à une pensée, si chimérique ou fabuleuse soit-elle, qui pense autrement l’absence du nom ou du mot, et autrement que comme une privation.”

65. Ambrose, *Hexameron*, trans. Savage, 6.4.24 (pp. 242–43); Ambrose, *Hexameron*, 6.4.24 (col. 251); Gerald of Wales, *The Journey Through Wales/The Description of Wales*, trans. Lewis Thorpe (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978), 1.7 (pp. 127–28); Gerald of Wales, *Giraldi Cambrensis opera, Vol. 6, Itinerarium Kambriae et Descriptio Kambriae*, ed. James F. Dimock, *Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores*, vol. 21 (London: Longman, 1868), 70–71 (book 1, chap. 7). Battaglia, “Il mito del licanthropo,” 242–48, comments on the relation between the Dog of Antioch story and *Bisclavret*.

66. W. B. Clark, *A Medieval Book of Beasts*, chap. 30 (p. 147), translation slightly modified: “Tunc canis . . . arma ultionis assumpsit . . . solum tenuit ex plurimis nec dimisit. Denique perturbatus ille, quod tam manifestum rei indicium . . . crimenque diutius nequivit refellere. Itaque quod erat difficilis, ultionem perpeussus est, quia defensionem sibi praestare non potuit.”

67. Bisclavret’s wife is interrogated with torture (“en mut grant destrece mise”: *Bisclavret*, 264). In the bestiaries the accused murderer “ultionem perpeussus est,” which has been variously translated as put to torture and put to punishment. Edward M. Peters finds both meanings of “ultio” plausible in the bestiary, but he notes that the context supports “judicial torture of a kind—since the dog’s ‘accusatio’ is only one indicium, albeit an obvious and nicely sentimental one” (personal correspondence).

68. Ambrose, *Hexameron*, 6.4.23 (p. 242), translation slightly modified; Ambrose,

Hexaemeron, 6.4.23 (col. 251): “Saepe etiam necis illatae evidentia canes, ad redarguendos reos indicia prodiderunt; ut muto eorum testimonio plerumque sit creditum.” Ambrose’s passage carries over to the bestiary’s entry on dogs: W. B. Clark, *A Medieval Book of Beasts*, chap. 30 (p. 146).

69. *Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae ex codice olim Salmanticensi nunc Bruxellensi*, ed. W.W. Heist, *Subsidia Hagiographica* 28 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1965), *Vita S. Finani*, chap. 32 (p. 159): “cum humilitate et penitentia.” Some later insular saints’ lives bring miracle and natural marvel together in wolf stories. In the early twelfth-century Geoffrey of Burton, *Life and Miracles of St. Modwenna*, ed. and trans. Robert Bartlett (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), 20–21, the young saint’s first miracle is to convert a wolf from calf killing to cattle herding. The wolf’s conversion is no small miracle (“non parva miracula”), but subsequently and “even more marvelous” (“quod multo mirabilius est”), the wolf produces a line of offspring that guard the church’s flocks to this day “in a radius of three miles around, universally loved and recognizable to all by the fact that they are smaller than usual and have a white mark on their foreheads” (“lupi propagati ex isto usque in presentem diem custodiant pecora ecclesie per tria miliaria in circuitu, dilecti ab omnibus, cunctis cognoscibiles utpote minores ceteris et albas in frontibus notas habentes”). Signaled with a naturalist’s precision, the wolf progeny’s breeding range, body size, and depigmentation characterize their difference from wolves as a marvel of nature as well as a miracle. As discussed in Chapter 1, depigmentation and smaller body size are virtually universal characteristics of domestic breeds; for wolves and dogs in particular, see Raymond Coppinger and Lorna Coppinger, *Dogs: A New Understanding of Canine Origin, Behavior, and Evolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001). In another late medieval saint’s life, wolves guard the herds of St. Luguid/Molua for years beyond his death because he instituted a custom of providing the wolf pack with hospitality once a year, washing their feet and cooking a calf for them: *Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae partim hactenus ineditae*. . . , ed. Charles Plummer, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910), *Vita sancti Moluae*, chap. 33 (2:217–18). This episode does not appear in the eighth-century life of St. Luguid discussed in Chapter 1.

70. According to Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, book 3, Preface (pp. 558–59), miracles are events “which, being preternatural, we ascribe to divine power” in contrast to marvels, which are natural rather than miraculous.

71. Michelle A. Freeman, “Dual Natures and Subverted Glosses: Marie de France’s ‘Bisclavret,’” *Romance Notes* 25 (1984–85): 296. For legal contextualizations see Judith Rice Rothschild, “A *Rapprochement* Between *Bisclavret* and *Lanval*,” *Speculum* 48 (1973): 78–88; Leslie Dunton-Downer, “Wolf Man,” in *Becoming Male in the Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen and Bonnie Wheeler (New York: Garland, 1997), 208–10; for castration, see Huchet, “Nom de femme et écriture féminine au Moyen Age: les *Lais* de Marie de France,” *Poétique* 48 (1981): 413–20. Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, trans. Daniel Heller-Roazen (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1998), 108, calls her punishment “inevitable,” perhaps less because it is right than because Agamben identifies the werewolf with the sovereign. Derrida, *The Beast and the Sovereign*, 1:313–34, offers an extended critique of Agamben’s position on bare life and sovereignty.

72. Some scholars find justification in the line “Oiez cum il est *bien* vengiez” (*Bisclavret*, 234), but this line is less accurately “hear how appropriately/correctly/rightly he avenged himself” than “hear how thoroughly/fully/entirely he avenged himself.” As for the lines “Unke mes humme ne tucha / Ne felunie ne mustra, / Fors a la dame qu’ici vei” (never before has he harmed anyone nor acted feloniously except towards the woman I see here, *Bisclavret*, 245–47), critics who take note of this observation struggle to make the term “felunie” apply to the wife or at least not apply to the knight: Rothschild, “A *Rapprochement* between *Bisclavret* and *Lanval*,” 82–85; Kathryn I. Holten, “Metamorphosis and Language in the Lay of *Bisclavret*,” in *In Quest of Marie de France, a Twelfth-Century Poet*, ed. Chantal Maréchal (Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992), 199–200. To be sure, the assertion “never before has he acted feloniously” could be read as a suggestion that once the facts are in, the apparent felon will prove to have been true to his virtuous nature. Making the strongest case that the lay indicts the knight’s chivalric violence are David B. Leshock, “The Knight of the Werewolf: *Bisclavret* and the Shape-Shifting Metaphor,” *Romance Quarterly* 46 (1999): 155–65; and Dunton-Downer, “Wolf Man.”

73. Rothschild, “A *Rapprochement* between *Bisclavret* and *Lanval*,” 86; Freeman, “Dual Natures and Subverted Glosses,” 294; Paul Creamer, “Woman-Hating in Marie de France’s *Bisclavret*,” *Romanic Review* 93 (2002): 272.

74. Alain Labbé, “Le vêtement déchiré et l’ensauvagement par la forêt dans quelques textes médiévaux,” in *Le nu et le vêtu au Moyen Age (XII^e–XIII^e siècles)*, Senefiance 47 (Aix-en-Provence: CUERMA, 2001), 203–16; Jose Vincenzo Molle, “La nudité et les habits du ‘garulf’ dans *Bisclavret* (et dans d’autres récits de loups et de louves),” in *Le nu et le vêtu au Moyen Age (XII^e–XIII^e siècles)*, Senefiance 47 (Aix-en-Provence: CUERMA, 2001), 255–69.

75. Derrida, *The Animal That Therefore I Am*, 4–5; *L’animal que donc je suis*, 19: “On croit généralement . . . que le propre des bêtes . . . c’est d’être nus sans le savoir. Donc de ne pas être nus, de ne pas avoir le savoir de leur nudité, la conscience du bien et du mal, en somme.”

76. Derrida, *The Animal That Therefore I Am*, 4; *L’animal que donc je suis*, 18: “nu en vérité, devant le regard insistant de l’animal, un regard bienveillant ou sans pitié, étonné ou reconnaissant.” Derrida comments at length on the Biblical account and recasts it as a domestic scene in his own bathroom, repeated each morning, when his cat looks at him naked. This bathroom scene reconfiguring Adam’s primal act illustrates Derrida’s wider project: its inversion of familiar hierarchies, the temporal spacing that enmeshes present and past, and the emphasis on response and repetition are consonant with his unsettling of human dominion over animals.

77. Derrida, *The Animal That Therefore I Am*, 20; *L’animal que donc je suis*, 40: human dominion “a en propre d’être à la fois *inconditionnelle* et *sacrificielle*” (his italics).

78. Derrida, *The Animal That Therefore I Am*, 30–31; *L’animal que donc je suis*, 52–53: “ce que devient une limite quand elle est abyssale, quand la frontière ne forme pas une seule ligne indivisible mais plus d’une ligne en abîme; et quand, par conséquent, elle ne se laisse plus tracer, ni objectiver, ni compter comme une et indivisible.”

79. W. B. Clark, *A Medieval Book of Beasts*, Chap. 30 (p. 148): “Licisci dicuntur canes, quod ex lupis et canibus nascuntur, cum inter se forte miscentur.”

80. Ibid., Chap. 28 (p. 145): “pro dominis suis se morti obiciunt; voluntarie ad praedam cum domino currunt; corpus domini sui etiam mortuum cusodiunt et non linquunt. Quorum postremo naturae est extra homines esse non posse.”

81. Ibid., Chap. 27 (p. 143): “Lupi figuram Diabolus portat, qui semper humano generi invidet ac iugiter circuit caulas ecclesiae fidelium, ut mactet et perdat eorum animas.”

82. Ibid., Chap. 28 (p. 145): “ab infestationibus luporum vigilando greges custodiunt ovuum”; Chap. 27 (p. 143): “tamquam canis mansuetus passim ad ovile pergit.”

CHAPTER 3. A BESTIARY'S TAXONOMY OF CREATURES

Epigraph: “Est animal quod Latine dicitur caper, eo quod captet aspera; nonnulli a crepita capream vocant. Haec sunt agrestes capreae quas Graeci quod acutissime videant dorcas appellaverunt. Morantur in excelsis montibus, et de longinquo venientes cognoscunt, si venatores sint aut viatores. Sic Dominus Ihesus Christus amat excelsos montes, hoc est prophetas et apostolos, sicut in Canticis canticorum dicitur, Ecce fratruelis meus sicut caprea venit saliens super montes transiens colles (Sg 2:8), et sicut caprea in convallibus pascitur.” *A Medieval Book of Beasts: The Second-Family Bestiary. Commentary, Art, Text and Translation*, ed. and trans. Willene B. Clark (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006), 136. Hereafter cited as MBB. This edition and translation of London, British Library MS Add. 11283, together with extensive introductory material on this and other second-family bestiaries, and extensive footnotes on the sources and contents of Add. 11283, is a major contribution to scholarship on the bestiaries.

1. The manuscripts in this group differ from exemplar to exemplar, but resemble one another sufficiently in their contents, organization, and approach that scholars call them a “family,” specifically the “second-family” Latin bestiaries, to distinguish them from similar works on animals that emerged earlier and later over the twelfth to fourteenth centuries. The “families” were outlined by Montague Rhodes James, *The Bestiary: Being a Reproduction in Full of the Manuscript Ii.4.26 in the University Library, Cambridge* (Oxford: Roxburghe Club, 1928) and revised by Florence McCulloch, *Mediaeval Latin and French Bestiaries* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, rev. ed. 1962). W. B. Clark provides an overview of further scholarship on the genre’s history, MBB, 7–50. In recent work, differences among manuscripts within the “families” are more emphasized than the unity of the “families”: e.g. Ron Baxter, *Bestiaries and their Users in the Middle Ages* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton, 1998); Xenia Muratova, “Workshop Methods in English Late Twelfth-Century Illumination and the Production of Luxury Bestiaries,” in *Beasts and Birds of the Middle Ages: The Bestiary and Its Legacy*, ed. Willene B. Clark and Meredith T. McMunn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), 52–68. An earlier version of this chapter appeared as “A Taxonomy of Creatures in the Second-Family Bestiary,” *New Medieval Literatures* 10 (2008): 1–48.

2. Extended discussions of the bestiaries’ audiences are Xenia Muratova, “Bestiaries: An Aspect of Medieval Patronage,” in *Art and Patronage in the English Romanesque*, ed.

Sarah Macready and F. H. Thompson (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1986), 118–44; Muratova, “Workshop Methods”; Morson, “The English Cistercians and the Bestiary,” *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 39 (1956–57), 146–70; Dora Faraci, “Pour une étude plus large de la réception médiévale des bestiaires,” in *Bestiaires médiévaux: nouvelles perspectives sur les manuscrits et les traditions textuelles*, ed. Baudouin van den Abeele (Louvain-la-Neuve: Université Catholique de Louvain, 2005), 111–125; Baxter, *Bestiaries and Their Users*, 83–209; *MBB*, 91–113.

3. *MBB*, 221–60, catalogues the second-family manuscripts. Including the other versions of the bestiary, nearly 90 MSS survive in Latin, and 51 MSS in vernacular versions: *MBB*, 10–13. Baxter, *Bestiaries and Their Users*, 167, 223–26, estimates a manuscript survival rate “certainly of 12–22 percent, and probably of 15–20 percent” (quotation 226).

4. In addition to W. B. Clark’s edition and translation of MS Add. 11283, Cambridge, C. U. L. MS li.4.26 is translated into English by T. H. White, *The Book of Beasts: Being a Translation from a Latin Bestiary of the Twelfth Century* (New York: Putnam’s Sons, 1954) and into Italian by Silvia Ponzi, *Il bestiaro di Cambridge* (Milan: Ricci, 1974). Translations of further second-family MSS: *Bestiary: Being an English Version of the Bodleian Library, Oxford M.S. Bodley 764 with All the Original Miniatures Reproduced in Facsimile*, trans. Richard Barber (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1993); *Le bestiaire: Texte intégral traduit en français moderne . . . du manuscrit du Bestiare Ashmole 1511 de la Bodleian Library d’Oxford*, trans. Marie-France Dupuis and Sylvain Louis (Vesoul: Philippe Lebaud, 1988); *Bestiarium: die Texte der Handschrift MS. Ashmole 1511 der Bodleian Library Oxford in Lateinischer und Deutscher Sprache*, ed. and trans. Franz Unterkircher (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1986); *The Medieval Bestiary* [St. Petersburg, MS Q.v.15], ed. Xenia Muratova, partial English trans. Inna Kitrosskaya (Moscow: Istkusstvo, 1984); *Das Bestiarium aus Peterborough = The Peterborough Bestiary, Cambridge, College of Corpus Christi, Parker Library, MS 53 (fol. 189–210)*, 2 vols., vol. 1: facsimile, vol. 2: intro. and commentary Lucy Freeman Sandler, English trans. and transcription Christopher Hamel, German trans. Hans Zotter (Lucerne: Faksimile, 2003).

5. Debra Hassig, *Medieval Bestiaries: Text, Image, Ideology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 173–74.

6. Baxter, *Bestiaries and Their Users*, 183–84. Arguing for the recuperation of “zoology” as an appropriate term for the bestiaries is Mia I. Gerhardt, “Zoologie médiévale: Préoccupations et procédés,” in *Methoden in Wissenschaft und Kunst des Mittelalters*, ed. Albert Zimmermann, *Miscellanea Mediaevalia* 7 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1970), 231–48.

7. Michel Zink, “Le monde animal et ses représentations dans la littérature française du Moyen Age,” in *Le monde animal et ses représentations au Moyen-Age (X^e–XV^e siècles)*, Travaux de l’Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail A, 31 (Toulouse: Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail, 1985), 59: “Dans la littérature médiévale, l’animal, comme le reste de la création, n’est digne d’attention que pour autant qu’il est porteur de sens. L’élucidation de ce sens est la raison d’être des bestiaires” (“In medieval literature the animal, like all the rest of creation, is only worthy of attention insofar as it carries a meaning. The elucidation of this meaning is the *raison d’être* of the bestiaries”). Another example: Francesco Zambon, “*Figura bestialis*: les fondements théoriques du bestiaire médiéval,” in *Épopée animale, fable*,

fabliau: Actes du IV^e Colloque de la Société Internationale Renardienne, Evreux, 7–11 septembre 1981, ed. Gabriel Bianciotto and Michel Salvat (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1984), 717: “Dans son schéma ainsi que par sa matière zoologique, le Bestiaire reste fidèle aux conceptions symboliques d’Origène et de saint Augustin” (“In design as well as in its zoological materials, the [second-family] bestiary is faithful to the symbolic thought of Origen and St. Augustine”). This symbolic reading of bestiaries aligns them with the “book of nature” topos: see Armand Strubel, “*Grant senefiance d’Allégorie et littérature au Moyen Age*” (Paris: Champion, 2002), 67–68. Not all deployments of this topos reduce the world to a collection of signs; Gerhardt B. Ladner notes that the “book of nature” can be metaphorical, preserving value in the physical world: “Medieval and Modern Understanding of Symbolism: A Comparison,” *Speculum* 54 (1979): 225.

8. White, *Book of Beasts*, 231; White urges, 46, n. 2; 53, n. 1, that many of the bestiaries’ incorrect details of animal behavior, drawn as they are from ancient texts or earlier bestiaries, could be explained as misunderstandings and mistranslations of biological fact. Willene B. Clark discusses scholarship on the bestiaries’ physical data, “Zoology in the Medieval Latin Bestiary,” in *Man and Nature in the Middle Ages*, ed. Susan J. Ridyard and Robert G. Benson (Sewanee, Tenn.: University of the South Press, 1995), 223–45.

9. Wilma B. George and W. Brunsdon Yapp, *The Naming of the Beasts* (London: Duckworth, 1991), 28; George, “The Bestiary: A Handbook of the Local Fauna,” *Archives of Natural History* 10 (1981), 187–203, expands her argument that the bestiary is “an illustrated natural history book of animals” (201). See also Yapp, “Birds in Bestiaries: Medieval Knowledge of Nature,” *Cambridge Review* 105 (1984): 183–90.

10. Jacques Voisenet, *Bêtes et hommes dans le monde médiévale: Le bestiaire des clercs du V^e au XII^e siècle* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 5: “cette gangue ‘signifiante’ que le *Physiologus* avait imposé aux animaux.”

11. James A. Weisheipl, “Aristotle’s Concept of Nature: Avicenna and Aquinas,” in *Approaches to Nature in the Middle Ages*, ed. Lawrence D. Roberts (Binghamton, N.Y.: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1982), 137–38.

12. Vernacular bestiaries surviving from the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries are based on earlier Latin bestiaries, not the second-family texts: translations of Philippe de Thaon (c. 1121–35); Guillaume le Clerc de Normandie (1210–11); Gervaise (c. 1190–1210); Pierre de Beauvais (c. 1200–1206); a long version attributed to Pierre de Beauvais (c. 1246–60); and a Middle English version (c. 1250–1300). If Marie de France did draw on a bestiary as part of her inspiration for *Bisclavret*, it would not have been Philippe de Thaon’s, despite its composition for the wife of Henry I of England and the dedication of a later copy to Eleanor of Aquitaine. Thaon’s bestiary is closely based on *Physiologus* and lacks the second-family bestiary’s sequential entries on wolf, dog, and Adam naming the animals: *Le bestiaire de Philippe de Thaün*, ed. Emmanuel Walberg (Paris: H. Welter, 1900).

13. An early indication that the bestiary will attempt to coordinate the spiritual and the natural differently from *Physiologus* is the bestiary’s revision of the expression from *Physiologus*, “*Physiologus dicit*” (Physiologus says), to “*Physicii dicunt*” (naturalists or natural philosophers say) in the entry on the Lion, *MBB*, 119.

14. Xenia Muratova finds aspects of the second-family bestiaries in the works of Peter Abelard, Peter Comestor, the School of Chartres, Hugh of St. Victor, Hildegard of Bingen, and others: “Adam donne leurs noms aux animaux. L’iconographie de la scène dans l’art du Moyen Age: Les manuscrits des bestiaires enluminés du XII^e et du XIII^e siècles,” *Studi medievali* ser. 3, 18 (1977): 933–60; Muratova, “L’iconografia medievale e l’ambiente storico,” *Storia dell’arte* 28 (1976): 171–79.

15. Without elaborating on classification, scholars have proposed that second-family bestiaries comment on the account of Creation in Genesis: e.g. Hassig, *Medieval Bestiaries*, 172; Baxter, *Bestiaries and Their Users*, 184. Dorothy Yamamoto, *The Boundaries of the Human in Medieval English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 12–33, argues that ordering is important in the second-family bestiaries: “each individual creature takes its bearings from man. One way of picturing this would be to place man at one end of a continuum and space the other animals along it, at varying distances from him” (24). Clark, *MBB*, 36–38, comments on the second-family bestiary’s principles of organization.

16. Indeed, scholars comment more often and at more length on taxonomy in the twelfth book of Isidore’s *Etymologies*, an important source for the second-family bestiaries that does not include spiritual or moral readings: see Voisenet, *Bêtes et hommes*, 81–86; Bernard Ribémont, *Les origines des encyclopédies médiévales: D’Isidore de Séville aux carolingiens* (Paris: Champion, 2001), 175–82; and Jacques André’s introduction to Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies. Livre XII: Des animaux* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1986), 7–12.

17. On the place of Aristotle and Linnaeus in the history of taxonomy: Pierre Pellegrin, *Aristotle’s Classification of Animals: Biology and the Conceptual Unity of the Aristotelian Corpus*, trans. Anthony Preus (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); George Gaylord Simpson, *Principles of Animal Taxonomy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), 23–28, 35–54; Paul Lawrence Farber, *Finding Order in Nature: The Naturalist Tradition from Linnaeus to E. O. Wilson* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000).

18. Carolus Linnaeus (Carl von Linné), *The Animal Kingdom, or Zoological System, of the Celebrated Sir Charles Linnaeus*, trans. Robert Kerr (London: J. Murray and R. Faulder, 1792), 22.

19. Simpson, *Principles of Animal Taxonomy*, 11. Any system could potentially be taxonomized, but taxonomy refers most traditionally to the classification of living things.

20. The classic citation is Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), which argues for the positive influence of communities of thought in scientific discovery; Mary Douglas, *Implicit Meanings: Essays in Anthropology* (London: Routledge, 1975), finds constraints and social pressures as well as benefits in the cultural embedding of knowledge. On the cultural embedding of specific animal taxonomies: John Dupré, *Humans and Other Animals* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002); Sten Lindroth, “The Two Faces of Linnaeus,” in *Linnaeus: The Man and His Work*, ed. Tore Frängsmyr (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 1–62; Harriet Ritvo, *The Platypus and the Mermaid and Other Figments of the Classifying Imagination* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997); Londa Schiebinger, *Nature’s Body: Gender in the Making of Modern Science* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993); Keith Thomas, *Man and the*

Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England 1500–1800 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 51–70. On the problems inherent in the modern commitment to purism in classification: Bruno Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern*, trans. Catherine Porter (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993), 49–90.

21. Gunnar Broberg, “*Homo sapiens*: Linnaeus’s Classification of Man,” in Frängsmyr, *Linnaeus: The Man and His Work*, 156–94.

22. Ritvo, *Platypus and the Mermaid*, 1–50.

23. John Dupré, *The Disorder of Things: Metaphysical Foundations of the Disunity of Science* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993), 6.

24. Derek E. Wildman, Monica Uddin, Guozhen Liu, Lawrence I. Grossman, and Morris Goodman, “Implications of Natural Selection in Shaping 99.4% Nonsynonymous DNA Identity Between Humans and Chimpanzees: Enlarging Genus *Homo*,” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 100 (2003), 7181. This essay provides references to other work in support of enlarging genus *Homo*.

25. Bernard Wood and Paul Constantino, “Human Origins: Life at the Top of the Tree,” in *Assembling the Tree of Life*, ed. Joel Cracraft and Michael J. Donoghue (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 517–35. This essay provides references to other work in opposition to enlarging genus *Homo*.

26. Dupré, *Humans and Other Animals*, 42. A superb investigation of one vernacular classification is R. Bulmer, “Why the Cassowary Is Not a Bird,” in *Rules and Meanings: The Anthropology of Everyday Knowledge*, ed. Mary Douglas (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973), 167–93. On vernacular categorization in general, see Brent Berlin, Dennis E. Breedlove, and Peter H. Raven, “General Principles of Classification and Nomenclature in Folk Biology,” *American Anthropologist* n.s. 75 (1973): 214–42. On medieval practices see Earl R. Anderson, *Folk-Taxonomies in Early English* (Madison, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2003), 17–54, 405–52.

27. Tullio Gregory, “L’idea di natura nella filosofia medievale prima dell’ingresso della fisica di Aristotele: Il secolo XII,” in *La filosofia della natura nel Medioevo: Atti del terzo congresso internazionale di filosofia medioevale* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1966), 27–65; Marie-Dominique Chenu, *La théologie au douzième siècle*, 3rd ed. (Paris: Vrin, 1957), 19–51; Adelard of Bath, *Adelard of Bath, Conversations with His Nephew*, ed. and trans. Charles Burnett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Winthrop Wetherbee, *The “Cosmographia” of Bernardus Sylvestris: A Translation with Introduction and Notes* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973).

28. Strubel, “*Grant senefiance a*,” 16, 84, 87, emphasizes the bestiaries’ exegetical aspect. On the encyclopedias and other thirteenth-century nature writing, see Gerhardt, “Zoologie médiévale”; Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150–1750* (New York: Zone Books, 2001), 21–59; Zambon, “*Figura bestialis*.” The second-family bestiaries’ entry on stags overlaps by well over half with Bartholomaeus’s entry *De cervo*: Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *On the Properties of Things: John Trevisa’s Translation of Bartholomaeus Anglicus De Proprietatibus Rerum*, ed. M. C. Seymour, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 2: 1175–78. Notes on Bartholomaeus’s sources for this entry appear in M.C.

Seymour et al., *Bartholomaeus Anglicus and His Encyclopedia* (Brookfield, Vt.: Ashgate, 1992), 218.

29. Inscribed audience: *MBB*, 130, 167, 172, 173, 177, 186, 196, 219.

30. Aristotle, *Historia Animalium*, ed. and trans. D. M. Balme, Allan Gotthelf, and A. L. Peck, 3 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965–1991), 1:19. Simpson, *Principles of Animal Taxonomy*, 26–27, traces to antiquity the criteria for classification termed “ecological” (by environment) and “teleological” (by usefulness). Even Linnaeus, working to move beyond teleological and figurative classifications toward a more strictly biological approach, wrote of frogs and toads in terms reminiscent of a bestiary: “these foul and loathsome animals . . . are abhorrent because of their cold body, pale color, cartilaginous skeleton, filthy skin, fierce aspect, calculating eye, offensive smell, harsh voice, squalid habitation, and terrible venom, and so their Creator has not exerted his powers to make many of them”: Carolus Linnaeus, *Systema naturae* (1758), quoted in A. Stanley Rand, “A History of Frog-Call Studies 405 B.C. to 1980,” in *Anuran Communication*, ed. Michael J. Ryan (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), 9.

31. Jorge Luis Borges, “The Analytical Language of John Wilkins,” in *Other Inquisitions: 1937–1952*, trans. Ruth L. C. Simms (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1965), 103. Michel Foucault claimed this passage as his inspiration for *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York: Pantheon, 1971), xv. Scholarship on classification often cites Borges’s “Chinese encyclopedia,” e.g., George Lakoff, *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal About the Mind* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 92–96; John Hollander, “‘I Named Them as They Passed’: Kinds of Animals and Humankind,” in *Humans and Other Animals*, ed. Arien Mack (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1999), 41–60.

32. Borges, “Analytical Language of John Wilkins,” 104.

33. Hollander, “‘I Named Them as They Passed,’” 45.

34. Hagiography, Ovidian poetry, and romance differ sharply from one another and from the bestiaries in their understandings of animals. For hagiography, see Chapter 1, “Cohabitation.” A few references to Ovid come into the bestiaries through Isidore (*MBB*, 201, 203), but in general the bestiaries are resistant to metamorphosis and even hybridization, which do not accord well with the belief that Creation was a unique event. On representations of animals in the genre of romance, see Chapters 5 and 6.

35. These texts have rhizomous interrelations with one other and with the earlier twelfth-century bestiaries from which the “second family” departs so strikingly. Often it is impossible to determine whether information comes directly from Isidore, for example, or through intermediate sources such as the B-Isidore bestiaries and Rabanus Maurus. Solinus includes material from Pliny the Elder’s *Historia naturalis* that transmits some of Aristotle’s writings on nature. Extended discussions of second-family sources are James, *The Bestiary*; McCulloch, *Mediaeval Latin and French Bestiaries*; W. B. Clark, *MBB*, passim. Indispensable for Isidore’s sources are the notes in André’s edition, *Etymologies*, *Livre XII*.

36. Alastair Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship* (London: Scolar Press, 1984), 190–210; Malcolm B. Parkes, “The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio* on

the Development of the Book,” in *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 115–41.

37. Date of the manuscript and its status as a copy: *MBB*, 27, 66–68 (c. 1180); Baxter, *Bestiaries and Their Users*, 24, 103, 178 (c. 1170); C. M. Kauffman, *A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles*, vol. 3, *Romanesque Manuscripts 1066–1190* (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1975), 125–26 (c. 1170).

38. “In fact,” concludes James, *Bestiary*, 14, “this Second Family shows all sorts of irregularities, which I am quite unable to reduce to order.” W. B. Clark, *MBB*, 256, proposes four subgroups for the surviving second-family MSS, the fourth titled, however, “sui generis.”

39. Wallace Stevens, *The Collected Poems of Wallace Stevens* (New York: Knopf, 1954), 92–95 (quotation 93).

40. *Cervus* of the bestiary is called *Elaphus* in the Greek *Physiologus* and *Cervus* in the Latin *Physiologus*, Isidore’s *Etymologies*, and many further Latin sources. This creature is now called *Cervus elaphus* (Linnaeus 1758), the red deer in English. *Cervus elaphus* “symbolizes deer as such to European cultures. It adorns coats of arms, crests, and monuments and is the deer of legends, poetry, and songs”: Valerius Geist, *Deer of the World: Their Evolution, Behavior, and Ecology* (Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole, 1998), 170. Red deer continue to be prestigious quarry for hunters; they are also farm raised for medicinal products and low-calorie, high-protein meat.

41. In an analogous defense of complexity in classification, Michael Sargent, commenting on stemmatics in textual criticism, argues that scholars should resist the lure of parsimony because it can falsify the relations among copies. For the manuscripts of Nicholas Love’s *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*, Sargent generates a computer model of a stemma using three dimensions plus colors: “Organic Metaphors for Manuscript Relations: Stemma—Cladogram—Rhizome,” Colloquium on Spectatorship and Visuality in the Medieval World, Fordham University (April 25, 2008).

42. Ordering along these lines derives from Isidore’s *Etymologies*. On the bestiary’s revisions to Isidore’s ordering, see *MBB*, 10–13, 23–27, 34–39; Guy Lobrichon, “La réinvention du bestiaire au XII^e siècle,” in *Si les lions pouvaient parler: Essais sur la condition animale*, ed. Boris Cyrulnik (Paris: Gallimard, 1998), 296–307.

43. In using multiple grounds of classification, Genesis and the bestiary have a certain resonance with modern taxonomy. For Linnaeus’s scholastic contemporaries, the classification of animals would ideally discover a strictly logical pattern of distinctions among them, “a divergent hierarchy of kinds such that no two kinds overlap: any two kinds are either disjoint or one includes the other”: Dupré, *Humans and Other Animals*, 3. On scholastic classification, see A. J. Cain, “Logic and Memory in Linnaeus’s System of Taxonomy,” *Proceedings of the Linnean Society of London* 169 (1958): 144–63. But animals are so complex, each providing such a diversity of information, that even using a reduced set of criteria (morphological distinctions, for example), it may be difficult to choose teeth over toes as the single criterion for a classification. In effect, Linnaeus and his contemporaries did not

always choose a single ground of differentiation within one level of analysis, and never across multiple levels: Simpson, *Principles of Animal Taxonomy*, 39; A. J. Cain, *Animal Species and Their Evolution* (1954, reprint Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), 12.

44. On the scholastic premise “homo est animal,” see Broberg, “*Homo sapiens*: Linnaeus’s Classification of Man.” The bestiary also looks back to Genesis in an entry on kinds of trees and a closing entry on fire-stones warning that “the love of women, whose sin began at the beginning, that is with Adam, rages to the present time” (“amor feminarum, quarum peccatum ab initio coepit, id est, ab Adam, usque nunc in filios inoboedientiae debaccharur”: *MBB*, 220). The differentiation between men and women, and their imperfect conflation in the universalizing *homo* of the closing chapters, would be worth a chapter of its own. The bestiary contributes at several points to naturalizing social distinctions between men and women, the “inferior sex” (“sexus inferioris”: *MBB*, 196).

45. The term in the Vulgate Bible for the “kinds” of animals is *species* three times, and *genera* three times. Often the bestiary has entries for “kinds” that are broader than modern genera, such as Bat and Duck; some bestiary “kinds” are closer to single species, such as Hoopoe and Nightingale. The bestiary’s larger groups have roughly the dimensions of modern orders. In the *Systema naturae*, Linnaeus called his order of carnivores the *Ferae* and his order of cloven-hoofed animals the *Pecora*.

46. The manuscript’s illustrations occasionally represent these social and moral interconnections, and they consistently reinforce the text’s work of enumeration and differentiation (see Figures 5). Hassig, *Medieval Bestiaries*, 92, 97, 153–54, discusses a few illustrations that may represent moral commentary: the beaver’s lion-like appearance could be intended to evoke Christ, the hoopoe’s owl-like appearance could identify it as unclean, the hyena’s illustration may evoke baptism. Sandler, *Das Bestiarium aus Peterborough*, 2:26, comments on the bestiaries in general that “from the outset a defining characteristic of the illustrations of the Bestiary was the focus on depiction of animals, their physical form and their behavior, rather than the visual representation of the Physiologus-based moralizations.”

47. This double classification of the *Cervi* could be attributed simply to inattentive copying from sources: *Physiologus*, which most influences the section on *bestiae*, is one source for the *Cervi*; another is Isidore’s *Etymologies*, where the *Cervi* are listed among the *pecora*. It is at least equally possible that the bestiary, like the creation it classifies, is a product of intelligent design: the bestiary chooses what to reproduce from sources, in this case a double classification.

48. In a long construction analogizing the powers of humans and angels: “si enim homini donavit Deus, sic eum instituens, ut etiam carnem peccati portans, possit non solum pecora et iumenta suis usibus subdita, nec tantum domesticas aves, sed etiam libere volitantes quaslibet etiam saevas feras et capere, et mansuetas facere, et eis mirabiliter imperare potentia rationis, non corporis; cum earum appetitus et dolores captans, paulatimque illectando, premendo, laxandoque moderans, agresti eas exuit consuetudine, et tanquam humanis moribus induit: quanto magis Angeli hoc possunt. . . .”: Augustine of Hippo, *De Genesi ad litteram libri duodecim*, PL 34:403; trans. John Hammond Taylor, *St. Augustine: The Literal Meaning of Genesis*, 2 vols. (New York: Newman Press, 1982), 2:87–88.

49. Aristotle, *Politics, with an English Translation*, ed. and trans. H. Rackham (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959), 37.

50. Richard Sorabji, *Animal Minds and Human Morals: The Origins of the Western Debate* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1993), 195–205.

51. Hugh of St. Victor, *Adnotationes elucidatoriae in Pentateuchon*, PL 175:37, quoted in Muratova, “Adam donne leurs noms aux animaux,” 934. In *Genesiam: homilia IX*, ed. J. P. Migne, *Patrologia cursus completus, series graeca*, 53:79, writes that Adam named the animals “like some master to the servants set under him”: quoted in Henry Maguire, “Adam and the Animals: Allegory and the Literal Sense in Early Christian Art,” *Studies on Art and Archeology in Honor of Ernst Kitzinger on His Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1987), 366.

52. Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Totemism*, trans. Rodney Needham (Boston: Beacon, 1963), 89.

53. *Physiologus Latinus versio Y*, ed. Francis J. Carmody, *University of California Publications in Classical Philology* 12, 7 (1941), 131–32; *Physiologus*, trans. Michael J. Curley (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979), 58. First-family and transitional Latin bestiaries are much closer to *Physiologus* in their organization and interpretive tactics than are the second-family manuscripts: Baxter, *Bestiaries and Their Users*, 29–143; *MBB*, 8–10. These earlier forms of the bestiary, or the Latin versions of *Physiologus*, are the sources for all the vernacular bestiaries of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries listed in note 12 above.

54. *Physiologus*, trans. Curley, xv. Curley notes, xiv, that a full semiotic system is not developed in *Physiologus*.

55. Origen, *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, Latin trans. Rufinus of Aquileia, ed. W. A. Baehrens, *Origines Werke*, vol. 8, Griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte 33 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1925), 208; Origen, *The Song of Songs, Commentary and Homilies*, trans. R. P. Lawson (Westminster, Md.: Newman Press, 1957), 218.

56. *MBB*, 24, counts 16 of 123 chapters in MS Add. 11283 that cite *Physiologus*.

57. *MBB*, 134–35, translation slightly altered. This passage may draw on Augustine’s commentary on Psalm 41, where the swimming behavior of stags is seen as supportive and loyal: “they go on like this, carrying the heavy weight for each other; so they make good progress, and do not let each other down. Was it not deer like these that the apostle had in mind? ‘Bear one another’s burdens,’ he says, ‘and so you will fulfill the law of Christ’ (Gal. 6:2).” Augustine indulges in a full metaphoric relation at this point in discussing the Psalm’s simile: “Once a deer of this kind is established in faith, but does not yet see the object of that faith and yearns to understand what he or she loves, this deer has to endure other people who are not deer at all, people whose understanding is darkened, who are sunk in their inner murk and blinded by vicious desires”: Augustine of Hippo, *Expositions of the Psalms* (33–60), trans. Maria Boulding, ed. John E. Rotelle, *The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21st Century, III/16* (Hyde Park, N.Y.: New City Press, 2000), 242; “ita vicissim portando quod grave est, et viam peragunt, et invicem se non deserunt. Nonne quosdam cervos alloquitur Apostolus, dicens: *Invicem onera vestra portate, et sic adimplebitis legem Christi* (Gal. VI, 2)? Talis ergo cervus in fide constitutus, nondum videns quod credit,

cupiens intelligere quod diligit, patitur et contrarios non cervos, obscuratos intelligentia, in tenebris interioribus constitutos, vitiorum cupiditate caecatos”: *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, PL 36:466.

58. Umberto Eco, “The Scandal of Metaphor: Metaphorology and Semiotics,” *Poetics Today* 4 (1983): 226, his italics. Eco proposes a rich typology of metaphoric figures, but his central point is metaphor’s capaciousness, 217: “the metaphor defies every encyclopedic entry. . . . It is very difficult indeed to consider the metaphor without seeing it in a framework that necessarily includes both synecdoche and metonymy—so difficult, in fact, that a trope that seems to be the most primary will appear instead as the most derivative, as the result of a semantic calculus that presupposes other, preliminary semiotic operations. A curious situation for a figure of speech that has been recognized by many to be the basis of every other.”

59. Ibid., 228.

60. Ambrose of Milan, *Hexameron*, PL 14:243–44 (6.2.4, 6.2.6); *Saint Ambrose: Hexameron, Paradise, and Cain and Abel*, trans. John J. Savage (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1961), 229, 231 (6.2.4, 6.2.6).

61. Ambrose, *Hexameron*, 14:233 (5.19.62–63); *Saint Ambrose: Hexameron*, trans. Savage, 210–11 (5.19.62–63).

62. *Physiologus* and Ambrose’s *Hexameron* occasionally include unglossed references to animal behaviors, but their design favors comprehensive glossing to such an extent that their few unglossed references seem only to await explication. Indeed, the later *Physiologus* b version tends to add glosses to the y version (see *Physiologus*, trans. Curley, a collation of y- and b-versions). In contrast, the second-family bestiary takes over a great deal of unglossed information ultimately from Classical sources, seldom adding a moral or spiritual interpretation.

63. Peter W. Travis, *Disseminial Chaucer: Rereading “The Nun’s Priest’s Tale”* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010), 179. On metaphors’ production of new meanings: e.g., Roger Tourangeau and Robert J. Sternberg, “Understanding and Appreciating Metaphors,” *Cognition* 11 (May 1982): 203–44. On metaphor’s primordial place in structuring human thought: e.g., Paul Ricoeur, “The Metaphorical Process as Cognition, Imagination, and Feeling,” in *On Metaphor*, ed. Sheldon Sacks (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 141–58; Lévi-Strauss, *Totemism*.

64. Darrel Mansell, “Metaphor as Matter,” *Language and Literature* 17 (1992): 115–16.

65. These interconnections and many others come to the bestiary, directly or through intermediaries, from Classical writing on nature: *MBB*, 16–18; *Physiologus*, trans. Curley, xxi–xxvi.

66. Foucault, *Order of Things*, 17. See also Strubel, “Grant senefiance a,” 66: the bestiaries link their information in “une chaîne de métaphores virtuelles, où il est possible de découvrir sans cesse de nouvelles transpositions” (a chain of virtual metaphors, in which it is possible endlessly to discover new transpositions).

67. Eco, “Scandal of Metaphor,” 219 (his emphasis).

68. Stags eating frogs, bones, and cast antlers: “The stag, craving minerals when

growing his new antlers, becomes quite resourceful in trying to satisfy his appetite for lime, and ready to become carnivorous for the moment”: F. Fraser Darling, *A Herd of Red Deer: A Study in Animal Behaviour* (London: Oxford University Press, 1937), 7; also 158, 160, 195–96. Fox feigning death to catch birds: filmed at the suggestion of local observers by Frédéric Rossif, *Les animaux* (feature film, France, 1963; feature film, USA *The Animals*, 1965); still photos in “La vraie histoire du corbeau et du renard,” *Paris Match* 763 (23 November 1963): 94–97. Fossilized protoceratops interpreted as a griffin: Adrienne Mayor, *The First Fossil Hunters: Paleontology in Greek and Roman Times* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000), 15–53.

69. Stephen Jay Gould, *The Hedgehog, the Fox, and the Magister’s Pox: Mending the Gap Between Science and the Humanities* (New York: Harmony Books, 2003), 37 (commenting on Ulisse Aldrovandi and Konrad Gesner).

70. Emphasis on the bestiaries’ preservation of cultural memory: Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 110, 122–55; Daniel Poirion, “Literature as Memory: ‘Wo die Zeit wird Raum,’” *Yale French Studies* 95 (1999): 33–46; Beryl Rowland, “The Art of Memory and the Bestiary,” in Clark and McMunn, *Beasts and Birds of the Middle Ages*, 12–25.

71. Isidore, *Etymologies: Livre XII*, 50–51, provides references to this lore, as does Henri-Charles Puech, “Le cerf et le serpent,” *Cahiers archéologiques* 4 (1949): 17–60.

72. Michel Foucault, *Order of Things*, 39–40; *Les mots et les choses: Une archéologie des sciences humaines* (Paris: Gallimard, 1966), 55.

73. See note 20 above; also Thomas Nagel, “What Is It Like to Be a Bat?” *Philosophical Review* 83 (1974), 435–50. Already in the thirteenth century, Eco argues, the more rigorous thinkers (among whom he does not locate the bestiaries’ compilers) recognized the cultural component in all perceptions of animals: “Scandal of Metaphor,” 136.

74. Brian Stock, *Myth and Science in the Twelfth Century: A Study of Bernard Silvester* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1972), 3; also Francis B. Brévar, “Between Medicine, Magic, and Religion: Wonder Drugs in German Medico-Pharmaceutical Treatises of the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Centuries,” *Speculum* 83 (2008): 1–57.

75. Caroline Walker Bynum, *Metamorphosis and Identity* (New York: Zone Books, 2001), 37–75: wonder involves “recognition,” not just emotion (p. 39); it is “a first step toward knowledge” (p. 74). See also Daston and Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature*; Pamela Gravestock, “Did Imaginary Animals Exist?” in *The Mark of the Beast*, ed. Debra Hassig (New York: Routledge, 1999), 119–40.

76. On the reorganizations in these seven MSS, see *MBB*, 36–37; Muratova, “Adam donne leurs noms aux animaux,” 941–42.

77. Jacques Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique dans l’Espagne wisigothique*, 2nd ed., 3 vols. (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1983), 1:36–48, traces Stoic, Greek pagan, Patristic exegetical, and Biblical backgrounds for Isidore’s conception of “natural language” and etymological study. Isidore does occasionally indicate that words can be conventional as well as natural—local or arbitrary, rather than reflecting the very essence of things—but the idea of natural language is fundamental to his work. In his vast encyclopedic project,

Isidore expands the sense of etymology far beyond the writings of earlier grammarians, making it his universal method of investigation. For Isidore, etymology unites tactics of differentiation, comparison, explication, and word origins in a comprehensive effort to apprehend the meaning of creation: Joseph Engels, “La portée de l’étymologie isidorienne,” *Studi medievali* ser. 3, 3 (1962): 99–128; Paul Zumthor, *Langue, texte, énigme* (Paris: Seuil, 1975), 144–60; Ribémont, *Les origines des encyclopédies*, 39–70.

78. *MBB*, 150. Isidore, *Etymologies*, *Livre XII*, 38 n. 1, provides several patristic sources for Isidore’s phrase. This phrase glossing Genesis 2:20 has been quite variously translated, e.g., “calling each one a name of his own devising according to the kind of nature which each one had” (*Bestiarium aus Peterborough*, 2: 77); “calling each by a name which corresponded to the present order and according to their nature and function” (Barber, *Bestiary*, 10); “assigning a name to each one at the moment of its creation, according to the position in nature that it holds” (*The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, trans. Stephen A. Barney, W. J. Lewis, J. A. Beach, and Oliver Berghof [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006], 247); “imposa des noms à tous les êtres animés, appelant chacun, par une institution immédiate, d’un vocable conforme à la condition naturelle à laquelle il était assujéti” (Isidore, *Etymologies*, *Livre XII*, 36, 38). On registers of naming in relation to animal natures more broadly: Carolyn Van Dyke, “Names of the Hare: Tracking the *Animot* in Medieval Texts,” *Studies in the Age of Chaucer*, forthcoming (2012).

79. *Logos* in Greek philosophy and the Greek New Testament encompasses the powers of thinking rationally and expressing thought in words, as well as the power of apprehending God and of understanding the difference between sin and virtue. The Vulgate Bible and its Latin exegesis typically represent the concept of *logos* with the term *ratio*: Gillian Clark, “The Fathers and the Animals: The Rule of Reason?” in *Animals on the Agenda: Questions about Animals for Theology and Ethics*, ed. Andrew Linzey and Dorothy Yamamoto (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 67–79; Wanda Cizewski, “The Meaning and Purpose of Animals According to Augustine’s Genesis Commentaries,” in *Augustine: Presbyter Factus Sum*, ed. Joseph T. Lienhard, Earl C. Muller, and Roland J. Teske (New York: Peter Lang, 1993), 363–73.

80. For similar patristic and medieval commentary on Adam’s naming, see John Fyler, *Language and the Declining World in Chaucer, Dante, and Jean de Meun* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 1–27; Peter Dronke, “La creazione degli animali,” in *L’uomo di fronte al mondo animale nell’alto Medioevo: 7–13 aprile, 1983*, 2 vols. (Spoleto: Presso la Sede del Centro, 1985), 2: 809–42.

81. Iconographic enhancements of Adam’s status: Muratova, “L’iconografia medievale e l’ambiente storico”; Muratova, “Adam donne leurs noms aux animaux,” 943–44, 947–48: Muratova argues that Adam’s clothing primarily marks his superiority to the animals, but she traces as well iconographic signals that Adam is a perfect man, a lay authority, and a prefiguration of Christ. W. Brunsdon Yapp, “A New Look at English Bestiaries,” *Medium Aevum* 54 (1985): 1–19, provides short descriptions of each manuscript’s illustration of this scene. Muratova details the interrelations of the second family’s illustrations in “Aspects de

la transmission textuelle et picturale des manuscrits des bestiaires anglais à la fin du XII^e et au début du XIII^e siècle,” in *Comprendre et maîtriser la nature au Moyen Age: Mélanges offerts à Guy Beaujouan* (Geneva: Droz; Paris: Champion, 1994), 579–605. Several further MSS show signs of having lost their illustrations of this scene.

82. George and Yapp, *Naming of the Beasts*, 40, identify the animals in the Add. 11283 illustration as “a goat, a cow, a badly drawn deer rather more like a fallow buck than a red deer hart, and what is probably a sheep.” Hassig, *Medieval Bestiaries*, 40–51, discusses representations of the stag in twenty-seven manuscripts.

83. Zumthor comments that “etymology” for Isidore is not a chronological-historical link but an intellectual, insightful relationship, “la recherche du vrai *dans et par les mots*” (a search for truth *in and through* words): *Langue, texte, énigme*, 147 (his italics). For Isidore and his followers, R. Howard Bloch agrees that “knowledge of the world is essentially lexical. The more we know about the sources of words, the faster we can penetrate the nature of things”: *Etymologies and Genealogies: A Literary Anthropology of the French Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 56. The bestiary’s (from Isidore’s) full passage on Adam’s naming reads: “Omnibus animantibus Adam primus vocabula indidit, appellans unicuique nomen ex praesenti institutione, iuxta conditionem naturae cui serviret. Gentes autem unicuique animalium ex propria lingua dederunt vocabula. Non autem secundum Latinam linguam atque Graecam aut quarumlibet gentium barbararum nomina illa imposuit Adam, sed illa lingua quae ante diluvium una fuit omnium, quae Hebraea nuncupatur” (“Adam was the first to give names to all the animals, calling each one a name from its effective disposition, according to the condition of nature to which it was subject. People, however, gave to each of the animals a name from their own language. Moreover, Adam did not apply those names from the Latin and Greek languages, or [that] of some barbarian folk, but from that language which was the only one of all people before the Flood, which is called Hebrew”: *MBB*, 150).

84. Translation slightly altered (calves, not fawns). Deer of various species nod, stamp, or bark to signal their offspring to hide: T. H. Clutton-Brock, F. E. Guinness, and S. D. Albon, *Red Deer: Behavior and Ecology of Two Sexes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 65; Geist, *Deer of the World*, 286; Darling, *Herd of Red Deer*, 85.

85. *MBB*, 150, translation slightly altered to emphasize the etymological operation on the words *animalia*, *animantia*.

86. *MBB*, 150, translation slightly altered. *Lingua* encompasses “language,” “speech,” “tongue”; *effigie* could be “face,” “form,” “appearance.” This passage, which is taken from Isidore, *Etymologies*, *Livre XII*, 36–41, later restricts *pecus* to certain domestic animals in contrast to the fierce wild beasts, but at this point *pecus* clearly refers to any nonhuman creature, in contrast to the human-encompassing *animalia/animantia*. Similarly, the serpent is “sapientior omnibus *pecoribus* terrae” (“more subtle than all the beasts of the earth”: *MBB*, 202).

87. In the bestiary’s closing chapters on humans, taken from the eleventh book of Isidore’s *Etymologies*, we are reminded that the human “erectus caelum aspicit, ut Deum quaerat, non ut terram intendat veluti pecora, quae natura prona et ventri oboedientia

finxit”: Isidore, *Etymologiae sive Origines*, ed. W. M. Lindsay, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), 2:1 (11.1.5) (“stands erect and looks toward heaven *so as to seek God*, rather than look at the earth, as do the beasts that nature has made bent over and attentive to their bellies,” Isidore, *Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, 231 [11.1.5], my emphasis).

88. The source for this entry is *Physiologus Latinus Versio Y*, ed. Carmody, 109. The hoopoes’ lack of reason makes their devotion the more admirable: “quanto magis rationabiles homines parentum suorum nutrimenta mutua reddere debent” (“how much more should rational men offer reciprocal care to their parents”: *MBB*, 177).

89. Ambrose, *Hexameron*, PL 14:250 (6.4.23); Ambrose, *Saint Ambrose: Hexameron*, 241–42 (6.4.23). On the widely circulated example of this dog following one of three tracks, see Luciano Floridi, “Scepticism and Animal Rationality: The Fortune of Chrysippus’ Dog in the History of Western Thought,” *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 79 (1997): 27–57.

90. Ambrose, *Hexameron*, 250 (6.4.23); *Saint Ambrose, Hexameron*, trans. Savage, 242 (6.4.23).

91. Isidore, *Etymologies: Livre XII*, 115 (12.2.30).

92. *MBB*, 132; “rationis humanae” could perhaps be “human reason” or more conservatively “human ways of thinking.”

93. *MBB*, 162 (hedgehog); 172 (swan); 168 (vulture): “Vultures mortem hominum signis quibusdam annunciare consueverunt. Quo indicio docti atque instructi sunt?” (“By certain signs vultures are accustomed to announcing the death of men. By what indications are they informed and instructed?”) Ambrose answers his own question immediately: “ex specie instructionis humanae quadam videntur ratione colligere,” Ambrose, *Hexameron*, 239 (5.23.81); “they seem to make this observation by the exercise of an instinct analogous to human reasoning,” *St. Ambrose: Hexameron*, trans. Savage, 221 (5.23.81).

94. The bestiary typically supplements semiotic readings of animals taken from *Physiologus* with material from Solinus and other Classical nature writing that returns the animals to physicality. The hyena’s rigid spine, grave robbing, and vocalizing come from Solinus; the lion erasing his tracks (a sign for the Incarnation in *Physiologus*) is supplemented in the bestiary with physical and behavioral information that is not consonant with the lion’s status as a sign for Incarnation and Resurrection.

95. Jacques Lacan, *Écrits*, quoted by Jacques Derrida, *The Animal That Therefore I Am*, ed. Marie-Louise Mallet, trans. David Wills (New York: Fordham University Press, 2008), 130; Derrida, *L’animal que donc je suis*, ed. Marie-Louise Mallet (Paris: Galilée, 2006), 178: “Pas plus qu’il n’efface ses traces, ce qui serait déjà pour lui se faire sujet du signifiant.” Lacan’s dichotomy between leaving tracks and covering them equates tracks with signifiers, such that a lion’s covering his tracks would entail his awareness that material signifiers can transmit immaterial significances. For Lacan, this awareness contributes to the exclusively human entry into the symbolic order. Derrida’s work, in contrast, substitutes “trace” for “signifier” on the ground that signifier and signified are not distinct from one another; “the structure of the trace presupposes that *to trace* amounts to *erasing a trace* (always present-absent) as much as to imprinting it”: Derrida, *The Animal That Therefore I Am*, 135; *L’animal que donc je suis*, 185: “la structure de la trace suppose que *tracer* revienne à *effacer*

une trace (toujours présente-absente) autant qu'à l'imprimer" (his italics). From Derrida's perspective on signification, "all sorts of sometimes ritual animal practices—for example, in burial and mourning—associate the experience of the trace with that of the erasure of the trace": *The Animal That Therefore I Am*, 135; "toutes sortes de pratiques animales, parfois rituelles, associent, par exemple dans la sépulture et le deuil, l'expérience de la trace à celle de l'effacement de la trace": *L'animal que donc je suis*, 185.

96. Stephen Jay Gould, *Wonderful Life: The Burgess Shale and the Nature of History* (New York: Norton, 1989), 99.

97. Stock, *Myth and Science*, 3.

98. Mansell, "Metaphor as Matter," 115–16.

99. The model of human subject formation through contradistinction to racial, sexual, and religious Others has a long history in psychoanalytic, existential, and constructivist analysis. Derrida, *The Animal That Therefore I Am*, 132, argues that humanity's Other, as a place of radical alterity, must include "the ahuman or at least the figure of some—in a word—divinanimality, even if it were to be felt through the human"; Derrida, *L'animal que donc je suis*, 181: "Ce lieu de l'Autre ne doit-il pas être anhumain? . . . l'anhumain, la figure, au moins, de quelque divinanimalité, en un mot, et fût-elle pressentie au travers de l'homme. . . ." The Genesis story invites this expanded model of self-definition by poisoning Adam between the Creator and the beasts.

CHAPTER 4. THE NOBLE HUNT AS A RITUAL PRACTICE

1. Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies*, *Livre XII: Des animaux*, ed. and trans. Jacques André (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1986), 208 n. 395; *A Medieval Book of Beasts: The Second-Family Bestiary. Commentary, Art, Text and Translation*, ed. and trans. Willene B. Clark (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006), 210; London, British Library, MS Add. 11283, fol. 31 verso.

2. Gaston III, Count of Foix, *Gaston Phébus: Livre de chasse*, ed. Gunnar Tilander, *Cynegetica* 18 (Karlshamn: Johanssons, 1971), 59, 62, 64. A few of the French treatises have a pervasively allegorizing tendency reminiscent of the bestiary, e.g., Henri de Ferrières, *Les livres du roy Modus et de la royne Ratio*, ed. Gunnar Tilander, 2 vols. (Paris: Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1932), 1:157–71 (composed between 1354 and 1377). On these treatises oriented toward moral instruction see Armand Strubel and Chantal de Saulnier, *La poétique de la chasse au Moyen Age: Les livres de chasse du XIV^e siècle* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1994); and Nadine Bordessoule, *De proies et d'ombres: Escritures de la chasse dans la littérature française du XIV^e siècle* (New York: Peter Lang, 2000). Writers of all the treatises draw on written sources as well as personal knowledge of hunting; however, on the vast difference between the allegorizing treatises and Gaston's deep engagement with practical hunting knowledge, see Pierre Tucoo-Chala, "L'art de la pédagogie dans le Livre de chasse de Gaston Fébus," in *La chasse au Moyen Age: Actes du colloque de Nice (22–24 juin 1979)*, Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines de Nice 20 (Nice: Centre d'Études Médiévales de Nice, 1980), 19–33.

3. The earliest known treatise, from about 1250, uses this terminology: “make your best hounds hunt à force, for that is best” (“fai tes millors chiens chacier / A force, car il est resons”): *La chace dou cerf*, ed. and trans. Gunnar Tilander, *Cynegetica* 7 (Stockholm: Offset-Lito, 1960), 21–22, lines 78–79. William Twiti’s Anglo-Norman treatise advises rewarding hounds “if they have taken the stag à force” (“s’il ount pris le cerf a force”), translated in the English version of his treatise (ca. 1330) “if your houndes be bold and have slayn the hert with streynth of huntyng”: *La vénerie de Twiti: Le plus ancien traité de chasse écrit en Angleterre; La version anglaise du même traité et Craft of Venery*, ed. Gunnar Tilander, *Cynegetica* 2 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1956), 38, 49. Gaston provides a long account of how to hunt the hart “à force and with strength” (“a force et par maistrise”), Gaston, *Livre de chasse*, 193. Edward of York translates Gaston’s phrase “with strengthe,” and in independent passages uses both “with strengthe” and “with streng[t]h of rennyng houndes”: *The Master of Game by Edward, Second Duke of York*, ed. William A. and Florence Baillie-Grohman (London: Ballantyne, Hanson, 1904), 30, 83, 94 (hereafter cited as Edward, *Master of Game* 1904). Because this edition is difficult to find, I cross-reference its page numbers with those of the English translation: *The Master of Game by Edward, Second Duke of York*, ed. William A. and Florence Baillie-Grohman (London: Chatto and Windus, 1909), 30, 148, 165 (hereafter cited as Edward, *Master of Game* 1909). Both transcription and translation are faulty; James I. McNelis is preparing a new edition for Universitätsverlag Winter. Edward of York translates *cerf* and *cervus* as *hart*.

4. Clifford Geertz, “Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight,” in *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 412–53; *Middle English Dictionary*, ed. Hans Kurath, Sherman M. Kuhn, and Robert E. Lewis (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1952–2001); John J. MacAloon, “Olympic Games and the Theory of Spectacle in Modern Societies,” in *Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle: Rehearsals Toward a Theory of Cultural Performance*, ed. John J. MacAloon (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1984), 241–80.

5. Gaston, *Livre de chasse*, 58. Proverb also cited in 1394 by Hardouin de Fontaines-Guérin, *Le trésor de vénerie*, ed. Jérôme Pichon (Paris: Techener, 1855), 52: “pour le sengler faut le mire / Mais pour le cerf convien la bière.”

6. Edward, *Master of Game* 1904, 28; Edward, *Master of Game* 1909, 49; Gaston, *Livre de chasse*, 88: “C’est une orgueilleuse et fiere beste.” On the symbolic associations of hart and boar, see John Cummins, *The Hound and the Hawk: The Art of Medieval Hunting* (New York: St. Martin’s, 1988), 68–83, 96–109; Michel Pastoureau, *Une histoire symbolique du Moyen Age occidental* (Paris: Seuil, 2004), 67–77 (“Chasser le sanglier: Du gibier royal à la bête impure: histoire d’une dévalorisation”); Marcelle Thiébaux, *The Stag of Love* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1974); Marcelle Thiébaux, “The Mouth of the Boar as a Symbol in Medieval Literature,” *Romance Philology* 22 (1968–69): 281–99.

7. Twiti, *La vénerie*, 34.

8. Recent excavations in England confirm that the specifications for noble hunting in romances and treatises bore some relation to post-Conquest hunting practices: Naomi Sykes, “Hunting for the Anglo-Normans: Zooarchaeological Evidence for Medieval

Identity,” in *Just Skin and Bones? New Perspectives on Human-Animal Relations in the Historical Past*, ed. Aleksander Pluskowski (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2005), 73–80; Richard Thomas, “Chasing the Ideal? Ritualism, Pragmatism and the Later Medieval Hunt in England,” in *Breaking and Shaping Beastly Bodies: Animals as Material Culture in the Middle Ages*, ed. Aleksander Pluskowski (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2007), 125–48. On the enormous financial outlay involved in noble hunting as recorded in wardrobe books of Edward I and Edward III: Bruce Lyon, “Coup d’œil sur l’infrastructure de la chasse au Moyen Âge,” *Le Moyen Âge* 104 (1998): 211–27.

9. Gaston, *Livre de chasse*, 251; Ferrières, *Modus et Ratio*, 1:157–71.

10. President Theodore Roosevelt articulated the ideal of self-reliant hunting in his foreword to Edward, *Master of Game* 1904, xii: “There was a very attractive side to the hunting of the great mediaeval lords, carried on with an elaborate equipment and stately ceremonial, especially as there was an element of danger in coming to close quarters with the quarry at bay; but after all, no form of hunting has ever surpassed in attractiveness the life of the wilderness wanderer of our own time—the man who with simple equipment, and trusting to his own qualities of head, heart, and hand, has penetrated to the uttermost regions of the earth, and single-handed slain alike the wariest and the grimmest of the creatures of the waste.”

11. Sally F. Moore and Barbara G. Myerhoff, “Introduction: Secular Ritual: Forms and Meanings,” in *Secular Ritual*, ed. Sally F. Moore and Barbara G. Myerhoff (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1977), 3–24 (quotation 23). I discuss medieval secular rituals at length in *The Performance of Self: Ritual, Clothing, and Identity in the Hundred Years War* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002).

12. My phrasing borrows from MacAloon, “Olympic Games,” 253: “The sight of heretofore stoic and ‘Olympian’ athletes weeping under the immense symbolic weight of the victory rite is surely one of the most powerful and evocative images generated by the modern world.”

13. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Touching Feeling: Affect, Pedagogy, Performativity* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2003), 71.

14. Joyce E. Salisbury, *The Beast Within: Animals in the Middle Ages* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 45; Dorothy Yamamoto, *The Boundaries of the Human in Medieval English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 101. Yamamoto, 105–15, discusses the hunt à force as an organized assertion of power over nature. One exception, a study that focuses on rite and argues that aristocratic hunting uses topographical marking and inversions of several cultural dichotomies to assert dominance, is Alain Guerreau, “Les structures de base de la chasse médiévale,” in *La chasse au Moyen Âge: société, traités, symboles*, ed. Agostino Paravicini Bagliani and Baudouin van den Abeele (Sismel: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2000), 25–32.

15. William Perry Marvin, *Hunting Law and Ritual in Medieval English Literature* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2006), 135–43; Cummins, *Hound and the Hawk*, 41; similarly, Strubel and Saulnier, *Poétique de la chasse*, 161: “the butchering is ennobled by ritual” (“la boucherie est anoblée par le rituel”).

16. Gaston, *Livre de chasse*, 250–51; traps and snares are hunting “with little pleasure and vulgarly” (“a court deduit et vilainement”).

17. Gaston, *Livre de chasse*, 88–92, 231–35, quotation 90; “un sangler fuit bien longuement,” *ibid.*, 231. On the 44 manuscripts of Gaston’s work, see Gaston, *Livre de chasse*, 24–35; see also the facsimile of B.N.F. fr. 616: *The Hunting Book of Gaston Phébus: Manuscrit français 616*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, intro. Marcel Thomas and François Avril, trans. Sarah Kane; commentary Wilhelm Schlag (London: Harvey Miller, 1998). In Gaston’s as in most medieval treatises, women are invisible. Sometimes they have a place in the visual iconography of the hunt, perhaps for their decorative value or by association with the hunt of love, but they do not fit with the treatises’ version of correct procedure. The treatise of Jacques de Brézé, Grand Seneschal of Normandy, ca. 1481–90, is an exception; Brézé praises the hunting prowess of his mistress, Anne de Beaujeu, daughter of Louis XI: *La chasse, Les dits du bon chien Souillard, et Les louanges de Madame Anne de France*, ed. Gunnar Tilander, *Cynegetica* 6 (Lund: C. Blom, 1959).

18. Jean Froissart, *Chroniques de Jean Froissart*, vol. 12, ed. Léon Mirot, Société de l’histoire de France (Paris: Champion, 1931), 79–94; Michel Zink, “Froissart et la nuit du chasseur,” *Poétique* 11 (1980): 60–77; Sylvia Huot, “Unruly Bodies, Unspeakable Acts: Pierre de Béarn, Camel de Camois, and Actaeon in the Writings of Jean Froissart,” *Exemplaria* 14 (2002): 79–98.

19. Gaston, *Livre de chasse*, 235.

20. *Ibid.*, 233–35.

21. Cummins, *Hound and the Hawk*, 4, 101–2; Marcelle Thiébaux, “The Mediaeval Chase,” *Speculum* 42 (1967): 261.

22. Gaston, *Livre de chasse*, 232; and Ferrières, *Modus et Ratio*, 1:81 (urge the boar to charge with “or cha, mestre!”).

23. *Chace dou cerf*, 18, lines 23–27.

24. James Howe, “Fox Hunting as Ritual,” *American Ethnologist* 8 (1981): 278–300 (quotation at p. 296). On hierarchy within the huntsmen’s roles, see Cummins, *Hound and the Hawk*, 172–86.

25. John Cummins, “*Veneurs s’en vont en paradis*: Medieval Hunting and the ‘Natural’ Landscape,” in *Inventing Medieval Landscapes: Senses of Place in Western Europe*, ed. John Howe and Michael Wolfe (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002), 33–56.

26. *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, ed. J. R. R. Tolkien and E. V. Gordon, 2nd ed. Norman Davis (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 22, lines 767–70.

27. Moore and Myerhoff, “Introduction: Secular Ritual,” 8.

28. Ferrières, *Modus et Ratio*, 1:58.

29. Gaston, *Livre de chasse*, 59, 62.

30. Edward, *Master of Game* 1904, 97; Edward, *Master of Game* 1909, 170. The problem of hounds changing from the original scent to a new one is a major concern in all the treatises.

31. Gaston, *Livre de chasse*, 193–94.

32. Twiti, *La vénerie*, 36: Cummins discusses horn calls in *Hound and the Hawk*, 160–69.

33. Gaston, *Livre de chasse*, 204. Ferrières, *Modus et Ratio*, 1:41–42, makes a similar argument.

34. *Chace dou cerf*, 38, lines 320–24. Gaston refers more than once to canine “language,” e.g. Gaston, *Livre de chasse*, 134: “They hunt all day long speaking and shouting in their language and saying cruel things to the beast they hope to seize” (“ilz chascient tout le jour en parlant et en riotant en son langage et en disant biau coup de vilenie a la beste qu’il veut prendre”).

35. Twiti, *La vénerie*, 50.

36. Gunnar Tilander, *Nouveaux essais d’étymologie cynégétique*, *Cynegetica* 4 (Lund: C. Blom, 1957), 40–50.

37. Edward, *Master of Game* 1904, 95; Edward, *Master of Game* 1909, 167.

38. See Gunnar Tilander, *Mélanges d’étymologie cynégétique*, *Cynegetica* 5 (Lund: C. Blom, 1958), 55–92. Gaston, *Livre de chasse*, 173, uses “par ci va par les fumees” (he is going this way by his droppings) and “vez le ci aler” (see him going here), but he also uses the condensation “par cy, par cy,” 146, 174; in an independent chapter Edward uses “cy va, cy va, cy va”: Edward, *Master of Game* 1904, 95; Edward, *Master of Game* 1909, 167. Jacques de Brézé gives a full phrase and its condensation next to each other to represent a cry to the tracking hound: “Veez le cy aller! / La, compains, vaulcy, va avant!” (See him going here! Now, friend, *vaulcy*, go on!): *La chasse*, 33. On the status importance of knowing the vocabulary and practices of the hunt à force: Anne Rooney, *Hunting in Middle English Literature* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1993), 11–15; Marvin, *Hunting Law and Ritual in Medieval English Literature*, 133–43.

39. *The Tretyse off Huntyng*, ed. Anne Rooney, *Scripta: Mediaeval and Renaissance Texts and Studies* 19 (Brussels: UFSAL, 1987), 32: cries given in treatises show “corrupt words of French derivation” or “pseudo-French.” In a similar mode, Tilander, *Mélanges d’étymologie cynégétique*, 63–65, proposes that longer cries condense to two or three syllables because they are repeated so often on the hunt; he cites other hunting work agreeing that the impulse is “abbreviation.”

40. Cummins, *Hound and the Hawk*, 113: preservation of French-derived cries in English treatises is “a good example of the primacy of the sophisticated French in the hunting practices of the late Middle Ages”; Rooney, *Hunting in Middle English Literature*, 13: “The language of the hunt performed a socially divisive function and rendered the hunt élitist, a closed book to the uninitiated.” Howe, “Fox Hunting,” 283–84, makes a similar argument on hunting terminology in general. To be sure, hunting treatises do teach esoteric terminology for animals’ hides, colors, ages, fat, feet, droppings, and so on, but esoterism is not the strongest explanation for the cries.

41. Tilander, *Mélanges d’étymologie cynégétique*, 264–79: “ta ho” in *Chace dou cerf* is “tahou” in Gaston, *Livre de chasse*, “taillaut” in Brézé’s *La chasse*, and “tally ho” in modern English.

42. Already in the Middle English translation of William Twiti’s treatise, hybrid calls appear such as “here, how, here, douce, how, here”: Twiti, *La vénerie*, 48. Further examples appear in *Julians Barnes Boke of Huntyng*, ed. Gunnar Tilander, *Cynegetica* 11 (Karlshamn: Johanssons, 1964 [1496]) and in *The Tretyse off Huntyng* (ca. 1400–1470).

43. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, *The City of God Against the Pagans*, ed. and trans. George E. McCracken et al., 7 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957–72), 6:148–49 (book 19, chapter 7).

44. Charles A. Ferguson, “Absence of Copula and the Notion of Simplicity: A Study of Normal Speech, Baby Talk, Foreigner Talk, and Pidgins,” in *Pidginization and Creolization of Languages*, ed. Dell Hymes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 141–50; Charles A. Ferguson, “Baby Talk in Six Languages,” in *Language Structure and Language Use: Essays by Charles A. Ferguson*, ed. Anwar S. Dil (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1971), 113–33; Lila R. Gleitman, Elissa L. Newport, and Henry Gleitman, “The Current Status of the Motherese Hypothesis,” *Journal of Child Language* 11 (1984): 43–79.

45. Gaston, *Livre de chasse*, 199. Like Gaston’s “lord of Montmorency,” Anne de Beaujeu, daughter of Louis XI, “spoke constantly to the hounds” (“de parler aux chiens ne cessoit”) according to Brézé, *La chasse*, 36.

46. Erik D. Thiessen, Emily A. Hill, and Jenny R. Saffran, “Infant-Directed Speech Facilitates Word Segmentation,” *Infancy* 7 (2005): 53–71.

47. Edward, *Master of Game* 1904, 42, 44; Edward, *Master of Game* 1909, 75–76, 88; Gaston, *Livre de chasse*, 106–11.

48. Howe, “Fox Hunting,” 290–93; see also Garry Marvin, “Unspeakability, Inedibility, and the Structures of Pursuit in the English Foxhunt,” in *Representing Animals*, ed. Nigel Rothfels (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 139–58.

49. Quotation: Valerio Valeri, *Kingship and Sacrifice: Ritual and Society in Ancient Hawaii*, trans. Paula Wissing (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 67. On consolidating community through animal sacrifice in ancient and early medieval centuries, see Jean-Pierre Vernant, *Mortals and Immortals: Collected Essays*, ed. Froma I. Zeitlin (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991), 290–302; James B. Rives, *Religion in the Roman Empire* (Maldon, Mass.: Blackwell, 2007), 113–14, 127–28; Richard Sorabji, *Animal Minds and Human Morals: The Origins of the Western Debate* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1993), 170–94.

50. This characterization of hunting has passed into proverbial status; the earliest instance I can find is in William Somerville’s long poem *The Chase* (London: W. Bulmer, 1802), book 1, line 15: “Image of war, without its guilt.” Jacques Derrida characterizes sacrifice as a “noncriminal putting to death” in “‘Eating Well’ or the Calculation of the Subject: An Interview with Jacques Derrida,” in *Who Comes After the Subject?* ed. Eduardo Cadava, Peter Connor, and Jean-Luc Nancy (New York: Routledge, 1991), 278. On sacrifice and hunting see also Garry Marvin, “Wild Killing,” in Animal Studies Group, *Killing Animals* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 25–26; William Marvin, *Hunting Law and Ritual in Medieval English Literature*, 137–43.

51. Vernant, *Mortals and Immortals*, 290–302, proposes that the elision of violence in ancient Greek animal sacrifice responds to opposition from vegetarian sects. Every culture would have distinct formations around animal killing; for his contemporary culture, Derrida, “‘Eating Well’ or the Calculation of the Subject,” 280, coined the grotesque term “carno-phallogocentrism” to designate the interwoven complex of humanism’s claims to

supremacy: exclusive rights to language, rational thought, patriarchy, and dominion over nature feed into one another in a “sacrificial structure” that defines the sovereign subject of humanism. In this interview Derrida saw no way around the complex of literal and symbolic carno-phallogocentrism, considering this condition to be virtually the price of existence, but compare the analysis of David Wood, “*Comment ne pas manger*: Deconstruction and Humanism,” in *Animal Others: On Ethics, Ontology, and Animal Life*, ed. H. Peter Steeves (Albany: SUNY Press, 1999), 15–35.

52. Droppings are presented at breakfast in Gaston, *Livre de chasse*, 170–72; Edward, *Master of Game* 1904, 93; Edward, *Master of Game* 1909, 164; Brézé, *La chasse*, 30–31; Ferrières, *Modus et Ratio*, 1:35–36.

53. The four manuscripts with most textual authority illustrate the scene with the same layout, demonstrating its presence and layout in the lost presentation copy for Philippe le Hardi: Carl Nordenfalk, “Hatred, Hunting, and Love: Three Themes Relative to Some Manuscripts of Jean sans Peur,” in *Studies in Late Medieval and Renaissance Painting in Honor of Millard Meiss*, ed. Irving Lavin and John Plummer, 2 vols. (New York: New York University Press, 1977), 1:331–35; 2:114.

54. Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Routledge, 1966), 36 et passim.

55. Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Riverside Chaucer*, 3rd ed., ed. Larry D. Benson et al. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987), *Canterbury Tales*, line A 2019: “the sowe freten the child right in the cradel.”

56. Game should be cut up by one “wys vpon wodcrafterz”: *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, 44, line 1605; Edward uses “woodmannys craft”: Edward, *Master of Game* 1904, 100; Edward, *Master of Game* 1909, 176. See also François Remigereau, “Tristan ‘maître de vénerie’ dans la tradition anglaise et dans le roman de Thomas,” *Romania* 58 (1932): 218–37.

57. Twiti, *La vénerie*, 40–41; Gaston, *Livre de chasse*, 62, 151–53; Edward, *Master of Game* 1904, 18, 75; Edward, *Master of Game* 1909, 29–30, 133–35. In Brézé, *La chasse*, 28, 30–31, “on the table were many kinds of fumets from various places” (“Des fumees eut en maincte guise / Sur la table et de lieux divers”); the experienced hunters who judge the fumets are called “the knowledgeable masters” (“les maistres congnoisseurs”).

CHAPTER 5. FALCON AND PRINCESS

1. *The Romance of Sir Beues of Hamtoun*, ed. Eugen Kölbing, 3 vols., EETS e.s. 46, 48, 65 (London: Trübner, 1885, 1886, 1894), 1:165–218; see Chapter 6. *Beves* and *Guy* appear in many manuscripts, including Edinburgh, Advocates’ Library MS 19.2.1 (Auchinleck MS). “Romances of prys . . . Of Beves and sir Gy”: Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales*, in *The Riverside Chaucer*, 3rd ed., ed. Larry Benson (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987), 216 (*Sir Thopas*, VII 897–99). References to Chaucer’s works are cited in parentheses from this edition by line number or fragment and line number.

2. *The Romance of Guy of Warwick: The First or 14th-century Version*, ed. Julius Zupitza,

EETS e.s. 42, 49, 59 (London: Oxford University Press, 1883, 1887, 1891), 1:236–55: quotations at Auchinleck MS lines 4335–36, 4393. “When Gij that lyoun wounded seth, / For sorwe him thought his hert clef”: Auchinleck MS lines 4337–38.

3. Edmond Faral, “Des vilains, ou des XXII manières de vilains,” *Romania* 48 (1922): 251. The peasant of this thirteenth-century satire is called “canine” for his ignoble perspective, not least in conflating a sparrow-hawk with the inferior kite, but his point that captive hawks were fed on domestic birds is entirely accurate. On the diet and expense of keeping hawks, see Robin S. Oggins, *The Kings and Their Hawks: Falconry in Medieval England* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2004), 22, 25, 30, 109–17, 129–30. On the “noble” falcon and “ignoble” kite, see Dafydd Evans, “The Nobility of Knight and Falcon,” in *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood III: Papers from the Fourth Strawberry Hill Conference, 1988* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1990), 79–99.

4. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae: Latin Text and English Translation, Introduction, Notes, Appendices and Glossaries*, vol. 34, ed. and trans. R. J. Batten (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975), 88–89 (2a2ae. 25, 3).

5. Andrea Hopkins, *The Sinful Knights: A Study of Middle English Penitential Romance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 75; cited in Melissa Furrow, “Radial Categories and the Central Romance,” *Florilegium* 22 (2005): 133.

6. Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966), 204–8; examples of birds’ vocalization represented as speech abound in Chaucer’s *Parliament of Fowls*, *Complaint of Mars*, and *Nun’s Priest’s Tale*. Medieval scientific and philosophical works argued against the analogy between birdsong and human speech, but their resistance is another indication of the analogy’s currency: see the first chapter of Elizabeth Eva Leach, *Sung Birds: Music, Nature, and Poetry in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2007).

7. Guido Cavalcante, *Rime*, ed. Domenico de Robertis (Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1986), 5, line 11 and n. citing the same expression in Bonagiunta da Lucca (“ciascun canta in suo latino”); William IX of Aquitaine, *Poesie*, ed. Nicolò Pasero (Modena: S.T.E.M.-Mucchi, 1973), 250, line 3 (“chanton chascus en lor lati”) and 254 n. citing the same expression in lyrics of Cercamon, Marcabru, Arnaut Daniel, and others. *Middle English Dictionary*, ed. Hans Kurath et al. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1952–2001), *ledene*: (1) the Latin language; (2) (a) a language (b) speech, utterance; (3) (a) birdsong; also, the language of birds. Carolyn Van Dyke, *Chaucer’s Agents: Cause and Representation in Chaucerian Narrative* (Madison, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2005), 73–107, focuses productively on the intersections of language and agency in Chaucer’s depictions of animals.

8. The turn from centuries of admiration to disrepute is most marked in Gardiner Stillwell, “Chaucer in Tartary,” *Review of English Studies* 24 (1948): 177–88; the argument against thinking of this tale as a function of its teller received substantial articulation in David Lawton, *Chaucer’s Narrators* (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1985), 106–29; critical attention to gender as a function of the exotic in this tale began with John Fyler, “Domesticating the Exotic in the *Squire’s Tale*,” *ELH* 55 (1988): 1–26.

9. Alfred David, "Recycling *Anelida and Arcite*: Chaucer as a Source for Chaucer," *Studies in the Age of Chaucer, Proceedings* 1 (1984): 105–15, 110.

10. Geoffrey Chaucer, *A Variorum Edition of the Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, vol. 2, *The Canterbury Tales*, pt. 12, *The Squire's Tale*, ed. Donald C. Baker (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 15–17.

11. *New York Times*, <http://cityroom.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/04/06/hawk-cam-watching-bobby-and-violet/>.

12. Thomas J. Lueck, "Four Hawks, Two Nests, One Empty," *New York Times*, April 21, 2006, Late Edition (East Coast), B5.

13. David Allen Sibley, *National Audubon Society: The Sibley Guide to Birds* (New York: Knopf, 2000), 133.

14. Michael Woodford, *A Manual of Falconry* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1960), 3; similarly Phillip Glasier, *Falconry and Hawking* (Woodstock, N.Y.: Overlook Press, 1998), 24: "For performance of the very highest quality, the peregrine leaves all the others far behind. Her most valuable trait is undoubtedly her persistence. I know of no other falcon which has this virtue to so great a degree."

15. *Variorum Edition of the Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, vol. 2, pt. 12, 207 (quoting the *Tresor de Brunet Latin*); Baudouin van den Abeele, *La fauconnerie dans les lettres françaises du XII^e au XIV^e siècle* (Louvain: Presses Universitaires de Louvain, 1990), 194–97; Evans, "Nobility of Knight and Falcon." Calling a falcon "noble" elides the hundreds of hours of labor required to tame and train a hawk to sit on a noble fist and hunt at a noble's bidding. Canacee's immediate rapport with the formel similarly elides the practical work of falconry, as if their connection were entirely natural. On falcon keeping see Baudouin van den Abeele, *La fauconnerie au Moyen Age: Connaissance, affaitage et médecine des oiseaux de chasse d'après les traités latins*, Paris: Klincksieck, 1994.

16. This Bedford Hours quire has recently been dated to 1414–15, with close association to the production of the "Très Riches Heures" of Jean, Duc de Berry: Patricia Stirnemann and Claudia Rabel, "The 'Très Riches Heures' and Two Artists Associated with the Bedford Workshop," *The Burlington Magazine* 147 (2005): 534–38.

17. Baudouin van den Abeele, "Le faucon sur la main: un parcours iconographique médiévale," in *La chasse au Moyen Age: Société, traités, symboles*, ed. Agostino Paravicini Bagliani and Baudouin van den Abeele (Sismel: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2000), 103–4. Van den Abeele gathers several examples of this representation of Sobriety with a falcon on her wrist, as well as examples of other iconographic contexts for falcons such as youth, nobility, love, spring, and peacefulness that are appropriate to Canacee's depiction. In the manual of falconry attributed to Frederick II, the importance of restraint in feeding falcons is paramount: "As we have explained, reduction in weight is a requisite procedure when falcons are undergoing instruction"; a falcon that fails to come to the lure "may have been improperly fed and may not be hungry": *The Art of Falconry, Being the De Arte Venandi cum Avibus of Frederick II of Hohenstaufen*, trans. Casey A. Wood and F. Marjorie Fyfe (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1943), 366–67.

18. James Howe, "Fox Hunting as Ritual," *American Ethnologist* 8 (1981): 291.

19. Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Totemism*, trans. Rodney Needham (Boston: Beacon, 1963).
20. Anthropologists such as Stanley Tambiah, J. C. Crocker, and John Borneman acknowledge the differentiating work of totemism, but also refocus attention on the connection with animals that totemism often asserts: see Susan Crane, *The Performance of Self: Ritual, Clothing, and Identity During the Hundred Years War* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 107–25; on descendants of Melusine and Elias, 108–11.
21. Howe, “Fox Hunting,” 290.
22. Helen Cooper, *The Canterbury Tales*, Oxford Guides to Chaucer, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 222–23.
23. Chaucer: *The Squire’s Tale*, ed. Dorothy Bethurum (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 44, line 428n.
24. Kathryn L. Lynch, “East Meets West in Chaucer’s Squire’s and Franklin’s Tales,” *Speculum* 70 (1995): 530–51, 541. See also Kenneth Bleeth, “Orientalism and the Critical History of the Squire’s Tale,” in *Chaucer’s Cultural Geography*, ed. Kathryn L. Lynch (New York: Routledge, 2002), 21–31; Jenna Mead, “Reading by Said’s Lantern: Orientalism and Chaucer’s *Treatise on the Astrolabe*,” *Medieval Encounters* 5 (1999): 350–57. On the political complexities pertaining at the time of the tale’s composition, see Carolyn P. Collette and Vincent J. DiMarco, “The Matter of Armenia in the Age of Chaucer,” *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 23 (2001): 317–58; and Alan S. Ambrisco, “‘It lyth nat in my tonge’: Occupatio and Otherness in the *Squire’s Tale*,” *Chaucer Review* 38 (2003–4): 205–28.
25. The *Squire’s Tale* does preserve whiffs of the exotic: the Tartar king’s alien law is conventionally virtuous, but it remains undescribed and unassimilated to the tale’s narrative position inside Christianity. The magical birthday gifts are susceptible to learned explanation, but finally they remain unexplained, and those who attempt explanation get little sympathy from the narrator. The narrator champions women with categorical praise, setting them above and apart from men: see Richard Firth Green, “Chaucer’s Victimized Women,” *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 10 (1988): 3–21.
26. Sara Suleri, *The Rhetoric of English India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).
27. Latin *clamorosi*: Frederick II, *De arte venandi cum avibus*, ed. Carl Arnold Willemssen (Leipzig: in aedibus Insulae, 1942), 136, 145; *The Art of Falconry*, 129, 136. Modern manuals agree, e.g. Glasier, *Falconry and Hawking*, 112: “a ‘screamer’ . . . is most undesirable, particularly so in the case of falcons, who tend to have extremely penetrating voices and will sometimes scream for hours on end without apparently getting the slightest bit hoarse.”
28. Susan Crane, *Gender and Romance in Chaucer’s “Canterbury Tales”* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994), 73–76.
29. On taming lions by whipping dogs (*Squire’s Tale*, V 491), see John S. P. Tatlock, “Chaucer’s Whelp and Lion,” *Modern Language Notes* 38 (1923): 506–7; Calvin S. Brown, Jr., and Robert H. West, “As by the Whelp Chastised is the Leon,” *Modern Language Notes* 55 (1940): 209–10; and Grace Frank, “As by the Whelp Chastised is the Leon,” *Modern Language Notes* 55 (1940): 481. On the tiger’s doubleness (*Squire’s Tale*, V 543–44), see

Melvin Storm, “The Tercelet as Tiger: Bestiary Hypocrisy in the Squire’s Tale,” *English Language Notes* 14 (1977): 172–74.

30. Fyler, “Domesticating the Exotic,” 17.

31. In *Gender and Romance*, 66–73, I trace this passage’s shifting gender alignments in relation to Chaucer’s source passages from the *Consolation of Philosophy* and the *Romance of the Rose*.

32. *Variorum Edition of the Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, vol. 2, pt. 12, 241–42, summarizes commentary on incest, bigamy, or authorial/editorial lapse in these closing lines. Elizabeth Scala, *Absent Narratives, Manuscript Textuality, and Literary Structure in Late Medieval England* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 71–98, has argued for incest over bigamy or lapse. The *Squire’s Tale’s* compact plot summary at V 651–70 suggests that the tale is deliberately fragmentary. Abbreviation may have had some practical appeal for Chaucer (such as evasion of the genre’s bulk, reticence about the plot, or dissatisfaction with his execution of the tale). More evident than any practical strategy in the tale’s fragmentariness is the aesthetic of its evocative but disorienting projections: William Kamowski, “Trading the ‘Knotte’ for Loose Ends: The *Squire’s Tale* and the Poetics of Chaucerian Fragments,” *Style* 31 (1997): 391–412, aligns the tale with Coleridge’s “Kubla Khan,” another evocation of eastern wonders that resorts to suspension in order to escape containment. He cites Marjorie Levinson on Romantic fragments: “A work that is never consumed can never be exhausted” (398).

33. Jeremy Bentham, *The Principles of Morals and Legislation* (Buffalo, N.Y.: Prometheus, 1988 [1828]), 311. Cary Wolfe, *Animal Rites: American Culture, the Discourse of Species, and Posthumanist Theory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 21–43, provides an excellent analysis of utilitarianism.

34. When he was accused of arguing that maximum utility would be achieved by making pigs happy since pigs require fewer resources for contentment than humans, John Stuart Mill replied with a hierarchy of fulfillments in *Utilitarianism*, ed. Oskar Piest (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1957 [1861]), 14: “It is better to be a human being dissatisfied than a pig satisfied; better to be Socrates dissatisfied than a fool satisfied.” Peter Singer, *Practical Ethics*, 3rd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011) has satisfied some by putting absolute value on sentience, so that a mentally impaired infant would have no more right to resources and care than a mentally equivalent primate: *Singer and His Critics*, ed. Dale Jamieson (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999).

35. By the logic of the argument from proximity, human groups deemed unworthy of compassion are often aligned with animals: see, for example, Paul H. Freedman, “The Representation of Medieval Peasants as Bestial and as Human,” in *The Animal/Human Boundary: Historical Perspectives*, ed. Angela N. H. Creager and William Chester Jordan (Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press, 2002), 29–49; Marjorie Spiegel, *The Dreaded Comparison: Human and Animal Slavery* (New York: Mirror Books, 1996).

36. See Chapter 2 on moral responsibility in continental philosophy. On Kant’s and Levinas’s restriction of ethical duties to humankind, David Wood comments (with implications for hosting a falcon), “if we already know or determine the call of the Other as human, then we have failed to understand its radicalism”: “*Comment ne pas manger*:

Deconstruction and Humanism,” in *Animal Others: On Ethics, Ontology, and Animal Life*, ed. H. Peter Steeves (Albany: SUNY Press, 1999), 28.

37. *Riverside Chaucer*, Boece, Book 2, Meter 8 (pp. 420–21). This “kynde” love that unites is exemplified in “Christ’s mooder meeke and kynde” (*Prioress’s Tale*, VII 597).

38. Boece, Book 3, Meter 2 (p. 423): “Alle thynges seken ayen to hir propre cours, and alle thynges rejoysen hem of hir retornynge ayen to hir nature.” Lady Philosophy uses the term “kynde” in her teaching that “Alle kende tendeth” to God, the beginning and end of all things: Boece, Book 1, Prosa 6 (p. 406). See Lynn Sadler, “Chaucer’s *The Book of the Duchess* and the “Law of Kinde,” *Annuaire Mediaevale* 11 (1970): 51–64; Hugh White, *Nature, Sex, and Goodness in a Medieval Literary Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 68–109, 220–55.

39. Similarly: “The love of charity extends solely to God and our neighbor, but ‘neighbor’ cannot be understood to include irrational creatures, because they do not share man’s rational life. Therefore charity does not extend to them” (“dilectio caritatis solum se extendit ad Deum et proximum. Sed nomine proximi non potest intelligi creatura irrationalis, quia non communicat cum homine in vita rationali. Ergo caritas non se extendit ad creaturas irracionales”): Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, 34:88–89 (2a2ae.25, 3). Lisa J. Kiser, “Animals in Medieval Sports, Entertainment, and Menageries,” in *A Cultural History of Animals in the Medieval Age*, ed. by Brigitte Resl (Oxford: Berg, 2007), 103–26, details widespread unconcern for animal pain in medieval standards of treatment, but she also explores a counter-current of medieval thought that connects animal to human suffering: Kiser, “Margery Kempe and the Animalization of Christ: Animal Cruelty in Late Medieval England,” *Studies in Philology* 106 (2009): 299–315.

40. For the early Christian as for the medieval period, *hospitalitas* referred especially to welcoming, sheltering, and protecting travelers and strangers, in contrast to the *caritas* shown to neighbors. *Middle English Dictionary*, *hospitalite*, attests emphasis in both secular and religious literature. On hospitality in romances, see Matilda Tomaryn Bruckner, *Narrative Invention in Twelfth-Century French Romance: The Convention of Hospitality, 1160–1200* (Lexington, Ky.: French Forum, 1980). On Biblical exhortations to hospitality (e.g. Matthew 25:34–46, Romans 12:13, Hebrews 13:2, 1 Peter 4:9), see Andrew E. Arterbury, *Early Christian Hospitality in its Mediterranean Setting* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2005), 94–132. On medieval and early modern practices see Hans Conrad Peyer, *Gastfreundschaft und kommerzielle Gastlichkeit im Mittelalter* (Munich: Stiftung Historisches Kolleg, 1983); Felicity Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990).

41. Jacques Derrida, “Hostipitality,” trans. Barry Stocker with Forbes Morlock, *Angelaki* 5:3 (December 2000): 3–18; *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., *host* (sb.¹ and sb.²) and *hostage* (sb.¹).

42. Derrida, “Hostipitality,” *Angelaki*, p. 7.

43. Derrida, “Hostipitality,” trans. Gil Anidjar, in *Acts of Religion*, ed. Gil Anidjar (New York: Routledge, 2002), 363–65. Despite their identical titles, the two Derrida essays cover some different ground. Leaping into the water to escape Saracens, Bevis of Hampton imagines fish as better hosts than his captors: “ich may also ethe / To water fle in this stede,

/ To fisch that never senned dede, / Than her daien in londe / In al this Sarasines honde” (In this situation I might as well flee into the water, to fish that never sinned, than die here on land in the hands of Saracens): *Romance of Sir Beues of Hamtoun*, Auchinleck version, lines 1806–10.

44. Christine Chism has suggested to me in correspondence that the gifts may hint at a less than congenial relation between Mongol and Mamluk, because they could endanger their users; Cambyuskan could be responding to this danger “by locking up the ‘masculine’ chivalric gifts, and allowing the ‘feminine’ ones to play out only domestically.” This reading intensifies the differences within the “exotic East,” and discovers a tension within hospitality between welcome and constraint that is analogous to the tension expressed in Canacee’s mew.

45. “The velvet cage is still a cage, positioned only some twenty lines after the caged bird gloss, a reminder that the falcon loses”: Leslie Kordecki, “Chaucer’s *Squire’s Tale*: Animal Discourse, Women, and Subjectivity,” *Chaucer Review* 36 (2001–2002): 291. Ruth Evans proposes the memorable image of “Canacee nursing the falcon like a young girl with a new Barbie” in her paper “The Perverse Nature of Charity and Chaucer’s ‘Squire’s Tale,’” New Chaucer Society, Glasgow, 2004.

46. Frederick II, *De arte venandi cum avibus*, 137–38; *Art of Falconry*, 129–30 and plates 67, 68, 134, 141. The usual way to keep hawks in halls and chambers was on perches. In Theusus’s palace, “haukes sitten on the perche above” (*Knight’s Tale*, I 2204); Oggins cites evidence of perches in bedrooms, *Kings and Their Hawks*, 109. Trained hawks were restrained with jesses, not free to fly about; the *Squire’s Tale* is silent on jesses as well as on the door.

47. Derrida, “Hostipitality,” *Angelaki*, 14.

48. *Variorum Edition of the Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, vol. 2, pt. 12, lines 644–50 n., provides several examples of blue representing faithfulness, and green fickleness.

49. *Riverside Chaucer, The Romaunt of the Rose*, line 40; “craft of love,” line 2164.

50. *Riverside Chaucer, The Romaunt of the Rose*, lines 166–80, 301–48, 729–846.

51. Magpies appropriately voice the condemnation of “false fowles” since they can learn words: “*Picae quasi poeticae*,” writes Isidore, “quod verba in discrimine vocis expriment, ut homo” (They are called magpies as if poetic, because they can say words with distinct sounds, like men): Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies, Livre XII: Des animaux*, ed. and trans. Jacques André (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1986), 258–59 (my italics; the association of *pica* and *poetica* continues in the insular bestiaries). See also W. B. Yapp, “Birds in Captivity in the Middle Ages,” *Archives of Natural History* 10 (1982): 482.

CHAPTER 6. KNIGHT AND HORSE

1. Susan Crane, *The Performance of Self: Ritual, Clothing, and Identity During the Hundred Years War* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 107–39. There I review scholarship on aspects of chivalric performativity that are not related to the horse.

2. Noel Denholm-Young, *Collected Papers of N. Denholm-Young* (Cardiff: University

of Wales Press, 1969), 95. The scholarly literature on chivalry as a set of social and military virtues is vast, as every medievalist knows, and I will not rehearse it here. This scholarship is rich in discussions of how medieval sources elaborate “chivalry” as a term for social codes of conduct, but scholars seldom investigate how medieval sources explain the relationship of knight and horse in “chivalry.”

3. Thomas Malory, *Works of Sir Thomas Malory*, ed. Eugène Vinaver; 2nd ed. 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 667: Lamorak's brothers have been unhorsed in a tournament, and he has brought them remounts: “Bretherne, ye ought to be ashamed to falle so of your horsis! What is a knyght but whan he is on horsebacke? . . . There sholde no knight fighte on foote but if hit were for treson or ellis he were drivyn by forse to fight on foote. Therefore, bretherne, sitte faste in your sadils, or ellis fight never more afore me!”

4. Donna J. Haraway, *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 149–81: persons enmeshed in mechanisms and other organisms can enjoy expansive rather than deficient identities; cyborgs “are not afraid of their joint kinship with animals and machines, not afraid of permanently partial identities” (154).

5. Cary Wolfe, *What Is Posthumanism?* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010).

6. Jeffrey J. Cohen, *Medieval Identity Machines* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 35–77 (quotation 69). For similar interpretations that chivalry is desperate to achieve an impossible autonomy, see Jeremy J. Citrome, “Bodies That Splatter: Surgery, Chivalry, and the Body in the Practica of John Arderne,” *Exemplaria* 13 (2001): 137–72; and Kathleen Kelly, “Malory's Body Chivalric,” *Arthuriana* 6 (1996): 52–71.

7. René Descartes, *The Philosophical Writings of Descartes*, vol. 2, *Meditations on First Philosophy*, trans. John Cottingham, Robert Stoothoff, and Dugald Murdoch (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984). Bruce Thomas Boehrer, “Animal Studies and the Deconstruction of Character,” *PMLA* 124 (2009): 542–47, discusses the emergence of the modern self in relation to animal studies.

8. Lynn White, Jr., *Medieval Technology and Social Change* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962); for revisions see Bernard S. Bachrach, “Animals and Warfare in Early Medieval Europe,” in *L'uomo di fronte al mondo animale nell'alto Medioevo: 7–13 aprile, 1983* (Spoleto: Presso la sede del Centro, 1985), 1:737–48; Kelly DeVries, *Medieval Military Technology* (Lewiston, N.Y.: Broadview Press, 1992), 99–110; Jean Flori, *Chevaliers et chevalerie au Moyen Age* (Paris: Hachette, 1998), 89–108; Claude Gaier, *Armes et combats dans l'univers médiéval* (Brussels: De Boeck Université, 1995), 65–69.

9. Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1984), 27. Keen, 1–17, provides an excellent overview of the interpenetrating ideologies of knighthood, stressing the difference between knighthood's “social overtones” and its functional definition (28). Strickland similarly concludes that mounted combat was fundamental to chivalry from the start: “The crucial point is that the essence of knighthood lay in *function*, not in relative material wealth. The greatest lords adopted the style *miles*, not as a designation of rank but in recognition of a shared sense of *function* as elite mounted warriors. Though there would always be a distinction in rank . . . they were all *chevaliers*, united

by their social function as *bellatores*, those who fought”: Matthew Strickland, *War and Chivalry: The Conduct and Perception of War in England and Normandy, 1066–1217* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 74. Morillo reaches similar conclusions in a close examination of terminology for knighthood in high medieval sources: Stephen Morillo, “*Milites*, Knights and Samurai: Military Terminology, Comparative History, and the Problem of Translation,” in *The Normans and Their Adversaries at War: Essays in Memory of C. Warren Hollister*, ed. Richard P. Abels and Bernard S. Bachrach (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2001), 167–84.

10. Ian Peirce, “The Knight, His Arms and Armour in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries,” in *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood: Papers from the First and Second Strawberry Hill Conferences*, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill and Ruth Harvey (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1986), 154–55. See also Charles John Ffoulkes, *The Armourer and His Craft from the XIth to the XVIth Century* (New York: B. Blom, 1912), 43–74. On the breeding and training of warhorses: Charles Gladitz, *Horse Breeding in the Medieval World* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1997); R. H. C. Davis, *The Medieval Warhorse: Origin, Development and Redevelopment* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1989); Andrew Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses: Military Service and the English Aristocracy Under Edward III* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1994); Philippe Contamine, *La guerre au Moyen Age* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1980), 241–50.

11. DeVries, *Medieval Military Technology*, 12; on this specific technique see also Keen, *Chivalry*, 23–27; Rosemary Ascherl, “The Technology of Chivalry in Reality and Romance,” in *The Study of Chivalry: Resources and Approaches*, ed. Howell Chickering and Thomas Seiler (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Medieval Institute Publications, 1988), 271: “The charging knight was one of many ingenious ways in which power sources and machine elements were combined in the Middle Ages.”

12. On the ideological primacy of these expressions of knighthood, see Flori, *Chevaliers et chevalerie*, 94–99; Richard W. Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 175–76; Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, 26–39.

13. William Caxton, *The Book of the Ordre of Chyualry*, ed. Alfred T. P. Byles, EETS o.s. 168 (London: Humphrey Milford, 1926), 15–16. [= Ramón Llull, *Le libre del ordre de cayayleria*, trans. Caxton from a French version]

14. Jordanus Rufus, *Hippiatria*, quoted in Davis, *The Medieval Warhorse*, 107–8. Davis provides a reference to the 1818 edition of Latin MSS. This work circulated in many languages throughout the later Middle Ages and the Renaissance; more than 40 MSS in several languages survive. In two French MSS the passage reads “nul beste soit plus noble d’un cheval, car par celui li roy, li prince sont conneüz des austres pauvres gens” and “por ce que les seignouries entre les grans seigneurs ne se porroient parfaitement discerner ne veoir sans le cheval”: Jordanus Rufus, *La science du cheval au Moyen Age: Le “Traité d’hippiatrie” de Jordanus Rufus*, ed. Brigitte Prévot (Paris: Klincksieck, 1991), 31, 115. [= *La Marechaucie des chevaux*, a medieval French version of Rufus’s *Hippiatria*.]

15. Quoted in V. A. Kolve, *Chaucer and the Imagery of Narrative: The First Five Canterbury Tales* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1984), 240–41; see also 236–53. The horse as the unruly body is related to the metaphor of woman as horse, both needing

an authoritative master: see John Block Friedman, "A Reading of Chaucer's *Reeve's Tale*," *Chaucer Review* 2, 1 (1967): 8–19; Beryl Rowland, "The Horse and Rider Figure in Chaucer's Works," *University of Toronto Quarterly* 35, 3 (April 1966): 246–59.

16. *Ordene de Chevalerie*, in *Raoul de Hodec: "Le Roman des Eles"; The Anonymous "Ordene de Chevalerie"*, ed. Keith Busby (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1983), lines 189–204.

17. Caxton, *Book of the Ordre of Chyualry*, 85–86.

18. Gladitz, *Horse Breeding*, 154–58; Beryl Rowland, *Blind Beasts: Chaucer's Animal World* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1971), 112–16. "Ambler" refers to a pacing gait that is easier to sit than a trot. On women and riding see Monique Closson, "La femme et le cheval du XII^{ème} au XVI^{ème} siècles," in *Le cheval dans le monde medieval*, Seneffiance 32 (Aix-en-Provence: CUERMA, 1992), 61–71.

19. Chrétien de Troyes, *Le roman de Perceval; ou le Conte du Graal*, ed. William Roach (Geneva: Droz, 1959), lines 7154–57, 7187–89. J. F. Verbruggen, *The Art of Warfare in Western Europe During the Middle Ages*, trans. Sumner Willard and S. C. M. Southern (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1977), 28–30 praises the accuracy with which Chrétien represents technologies of chivalry in *Perceval*. See also Elspeth Kennedy, "The Knight as Reader of Arthurian Romance," in *Culture and the King: The Social Implications of the Arthurian Legend. Essays in Honor of Valerie M. Lagorio*, ed. Martin B. Shichtman and James P. Carley (Albany: SUNY Press, 1994), 70–90.

20. Having shown that equine sex matters in these texts, I now drop the conventional neuter "it" when referring to warhorses.

21. *Ibid.*, lines 7158–77 (quotation at line 7159).

22. *Ibid.*, lines 7326–63.

23. *Albert the Great: Man and the Beasts: de animalibus (Books 22–26)*, trans. James J. Scanlan. *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies* 47 (Binghamton, N.Y.: MARTS, 1987), 105; Albertus Magnus, *De animalibus libri XXVI*, ed. Hermann Stadler, 2 vols., *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters* 15–16 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1916–20), 2:1378; Gladitz, *Horse Breeding*, 138, 158 concurs that the European warhorses were stallions until gradually in the fourteenth century they began to be gelded. On the fighting repertoire of stallions: Michael Schäfer, *The Language of the Horse: Habits and Forms of Expression*, trans. Daphne Machin Goodall (New York: Arco, 1975), 142–48.

24. *Albert the Great: Man and the Beasts*, trans. Scanlan, 105; *Albertus Magnus: De animalibus libri XXVI*, ed. Stadler, 2:1378.

25. Brigitte Prévot and Bernard Ribémont, *Le cheval en France au Moyen Age* (Orléans: Paradigme, 1994), 229–34; Francis Dubost, "De quelques chevaux extraordinaires dans le récit médiéval: Esquisse d'une configuration imaginaire," in *Le cheval dans le monde médiéval*, Seneffiance 32 (Aix-en-Provence: CUERMA, 1992), 193–94.

26. Gutierre Diaz de Gámez was standard-bearer and biographer to Pero Niño, Count of Buelna; his biography was composed ca. 1431–39. Quotation: Gutierre Díaz de Gámez, *The Unconquered Knight: A Chronicle of the Deeds of Don Pero Niño, Count of Buelna, by His Standard-Bearer Gutierre Diaz de Gamez (1431–1449)*, trans. Joan Evans (London:

Routledge, 1928), 11; *El Victorial*, ed. Alberto Miranda (Madrid: Cátedra, 1993), 231: “Non fueron escogidos para cabalgar asnos ni mulos, ni hombres flacos, ni medrosos, ni cobardes, mas hombres rebustos e fuertes, sin temor, e esforçados; por ende, no es animalía más concordante al cavallero que es el buen cavallo.”

27. Barbara Johnson, *Persons and Things* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2008), 47–105 (quotation 93). From Johnson’s work I take specific aspects resonant with chivalric practice; her account is deeply embedded in contemporary legal and psycho-analytic discursive frames that are not entirely applicable to medieval contexts.

28. Crane, *Performance of Self*, 1–9, 107–39.

29. Derek Brewer, “The Arming of the Warrior in European Literature and Chaucer,” in *Chaucerian Problems and Perspectives: Essays Presented to Paul E. Beichner C.S.C.*, ed. Edward Vasta, Zacharias P. Thundy, and Theodore M. Hesburgh (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1979), 221–43.

30. Hue de Rotelande, *Ipomedon*, ed. A. J. Holden (Paris: Klincksieck, 1979), lines 4827–42.

31. Chrétien, *Perceval*, lines 1136–42. *The Romance of the Cheuelere Assigne*, ed. Henry H. Gibbs, EETS e.s. 6 (London: Oxford University Press, 1868), lines 287–95, provides an analogous episode, in which the ignorant young hero Elias cannot distinguish a warhorse’s equipment from his body. Animal and human are indistinguishable for the similarly ignorant young Tyolet, who asks a knight what kind of beast he is and continues in detail, “now tell me, beast knight, what is that thing on your head? what is hanging around your neck?” and so on: “Le Lai de Tyolet,” in *Les Lais anonymes des XII^e et XIII^e siècles : Edition critique de quelques lais bretons*, ed. Prudence Mary O’Hara Tobin (Geneva: Droz, 1976), 227–53, lines 131–88.

32. Chrétien, *Perceval*, lines 1185–86.

33. *Ibid.*, line 1187.

34. *Ibid.*, line 1194.

35. Lewis Mumford, *Technics and Civilization* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1934), 86.

36. Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Squire’s Tale*, in *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Larry D. Benson et al., 3rd ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987). References are provided parenthetically by fragment and line number.

37. Scholars who argue that the brass horse is purely mechanical are Scott Lightsey, *Manmade Marvels in Medieval Culture and Literature* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 55–80; Vincent DiMarco, “The Dialogue of Science and Magic in Chaucer’s *Squire’s Tale*,” in *Dialogische Strukturen/Diologic Structures: Festschrift für Willi Ergräber zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Thomas Kühn and Ursula Schaefer (Tübingen: Narr, 1996), 50–68; and Marijane Osborn, *Time and the Astrolabe in “The Canterbury Tales”* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), 34–54: the brass horse is “a metaphor for . . . the brass astrolabe,” which has a small wedge of metal called the “horse” at its center (39).

38. Chaucer, *Franklin’s Tale*, in *The Riverside Chaucer*, line V 1125]; on “magik naturel” and the contrasting arts of optical illusions and conjuring spirits: *House of Fame*, in *The Riverside Chaucer*, lines 1259–70.

39. In Girart d'Amiens, *Meliacin; ou le Cheval de Fust*, ed. Antoinette Saly (Aix-en-Provence: CUERMA, 1990), line 609, a wooden horse moves by “nigremance,” the conjuring of spirits; likewise in Adenet le Roi, *Les Oeuvres d'Adenet le Roi*, vol. 5, *Cleomadés*, ed. Albert Henry (Geneva: Slatkine, 1996), line 1645, “nigromancie” creates the wooden horse. In contrast to Chaucer's steed of brass, neither of these magical horses has anything lifelike about it.

40. Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 1, 9, 12–14, *passim*. The terms “subtil” and “gyn” (lines V 222, V 322) further associate the making of the horse with what I have called clerical magic: Susan Crane, *Gender and Romance in Chaucer's “Canterbury Tales”* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994), 132–50. The “lewed” (unlearned) people of Cambyuskan's court are incapable of understanding how “subtilly” the horse is made (lines V 221–24).

41. *Middle English Dictionary*, ed. Hans Kurath, Sherman M. Kuhn, and Robert E. Lewis (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1952–2001): bönd (n.) 5 (a); sêl(e (n.) 2 (c), (d).

42. The wooden horses of *Cleomadés* and *Meliacin*, which are similarly equipped with operating pegs, do not need vocal commands as well.

43. Dubost, “De quelques chevaux extraordinaires,” 202, notes that mechanical horses' abilities tend to expand on the abilities of exceptional living horses in epic and romance that leap great distances, never sweat, are fast as birds, and so on. Bevis of Hampton's horse is named “hirondele,” “swallow,” for his superlative speed: “For hit was swift & ernede wel, / Me clepede hit Arondel” (because it was swift and ran well, men called it Arondel): *The Romance of Sir Beues of Hamtoun*, ed. Eugen Kölbing, 3 vols., EETS e.s. 46, 48, 65 (London: Trübner, 1885, 1886, 1894), lines 987–88.

44. Robert-Henri Bautier and Anne-Marie Bautier, “Contribution à l'histoire du cheval au Moyen Age: L'élevage du cheval,” *Bulletin philologique et historique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, année 1978* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1980), 51–52, 63; Gladitz, *Horse Breeding in the Medieval World*, 164–65; “it was the boast of a Milanese that their destriers were ‘more beautiful and greater in size than any others in the world’” (165).

45. Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, 63. The fine appearance of the “steed of brass” is part of his merit, as the crowd's fascinated stares demonstrate. Horses were bred for appearance as well as performance. For literary heroes, horses of light colors are preferred; one of these is *aeranis* (bronze): Prévot and Ribémont, *Le cheval en France*, 242–43, 275–79.

46. Chaucer, *General Prologue*, in *The Riverside Chaucer*, line I 167; *Troilus and Criseyde*, in *The Riverside Chaucer*, book 2, line 1263.

47. Xenophon, *On the Art of Horsemanship*, trans. E.C. Marchant, in *Xenophon, VII: Scripta Minora* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968), 11:8–9 (354–55); *Albert the Great: Man and the Beasts*, trans. Scanlan, 103–4: “A horse's quality is based on several factors. It should be a spirited animal which paws and tears at the ground with its hooves, while neighing and quivering excitedly in all of its limbs; for these are signs of courage”

(“Ad meritum autem deputatur ut sit audax valde, pedibus terram fodiens et terens, ginninens, membris tremens: hoc enim fortitudinis est indicium,” *Albertus Magnus: De animalibus libri XXVI*, ed. Stadler, 2:1377–78).

48. M.R. James, *The Romance of Alexander, A Collotype Facsimile of MS Bodley 264* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), folio 82v. Not only the horse but the lance as well is a wooden practice version. M. R. James describes the contents of this double image in his *Romance of Alexander*, 27: “On [left] the revolving quintain on a post: a square board with a horseshoe nailed to the middle. A boy holds up the sandbag; another prepares to run at it with a pole, which he holds levelled. [Right] a fixed quintain with horseshoe on a post. Two boys drag by ropes a wooden (headless) horse on four solid wheels, on which a boy with a pole is mounted.” The image has been often reproduced and discussed, e.g., Nicholas Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry: The Education of the English Kings and Aristocracy 1066–1530* (London: Methuen, 1984), figures 16a–b; J. J. Cohen, *Medieval Identity Machines*, 51–52.

49. Jean de Meun’s translation of Vegetius preserves the latter’s account of the Romans using wooden horses for practice in mounting and dismounting. Jean calls this a practice of “li ancien,” the people of past times, suggesting that the practice was no longer current in the thirteenth century: *L’Art de chevalerie: Traduction du “De re militari” de Végèce*, ed. Ulysse Robert (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1897), 25. On the many years of training required for knighthood: Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry*; Carroll Gillmor, “Practical Chivalry: The Training of Horses for Tournaments and Warfare,” *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* n.s. 13 (1992): 7–29; Ascherl, “Technology of Chivalry”; Caxton, *Ordre of Chyualry*, 21: “The science and the scole of the ordre of Chivalrye / is that the knight make his sone to lerne in his yongthe to ride / For if he lerne not in his yongthe / he shalle never lerne it in his old age.”

50. Warhorses continue fighting after their knights are fallen or dead in *Cheuelere Asigne*, lines 318–25; and *Huon de Bordeaux, Chanson de geste du XIII^e siècle, publiée d’après le manuscrit de Paris BNF fr. 22555 (P)*, ed. and trans. William W. Kibler and François Suard (Paris: Champion, 2003), lines 1844–77; and Usamah ibn Munkid, *The Autobiography of Ousama*, trans. George Richard Potter (London: Routledge, 1929), 129: A Frankish and a Kurdish cavalier “met at the top of the hill, made for each other and at the same moment exchanged two blows which caused them both to fall down together stone dead. The horses continued to attack one another furiously on the hill after the death of their masters.”

51. Willene B. Clark, *A Medieval Book of Beasts: The Second-Family Bestiary* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006), 156–57; this passage is taken from Isidore, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, trans. Stephen A. Barney et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 12.1.43 (249); Isidore, *Etymologies: Livre XII : Des animaux*, ed. and trans. Jacques André (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1986), 12.1.43 (68–69).

52. Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *On the Properties of Things: John Trevisa’s Translation of Bartholomaeus Anglicus De Proprietatibus Rerum*, ed. M. C. Seymour, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 2:1186, my italics. Trevisa is translating the expansion of Isidore in Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De rerum proprietatibus* (Frankfurt am Main: Minerva, 1964 [1601]),

1055–56: “Quidam in bello hostes suos *sentiant et cognoscunt* adeo ut adversarios suos morsu petant” my italics.

53. *Beues of Hamtoun*, ed. Kölbing, lines 190, 196, 208. Subsequent references are abbreviated in text and notes as *BH* with line number. My references are to the Auchinleck MS, in which the version of Bevis’s horse Arondel is the most distinctive and intriguing of all the English and Anglo-Norman MSS.

54. Elizabeth Allen, “Episodes,” in *Middle English*, ed. Paul Strohm, Oxford Twenty-First Century Approaches to Literature (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 200.

55. On the faith pledging and treason of the two kings: *BH*, 569–78, 1057–60, 1331–32, 1393–98, 3971–74; Ascopart is similarly first pledged, then treasonous to Bevis and to Josian. In the death of Edgar’s son, Bevis is called a traitor and responds, “Traitour was y neuer non,” *BH*, 4336, 4374, 4378.

56. Judith Weiss comments of the Anglo-Norman source that Bevis “is happy to fight with Saracens against Saracens. . . . Much more important than religious concerns is the loyalty of friends”: “*Boeve de Haumtone*” and “*Gui de Warewic*”: *Two Anglo-Norman Romances*, trans. Judith Weiss, *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies* 332; *French of England Translation Series* 3 (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2008), 6; Corinne Saunders, “Gender, Virtue and Wisdom in *Sir Bevis of Hampton*,” in *Sir Bevis of Hampton in Literary Tradition*, ed. Jennifer Fellows and Ivana Djordjević (Cambridge: Brewer, 2008), 161–75, makes the case for a certain moral discrimination in Bevis’s actions.

57. A few examples that invoke Murgleie and Arondel together as empowering Bevis, or as disempowering him by their absence: *BH*, 1245–50, 1607–10, 2013–14, 2187–88, 3291–93, 3403–8. Arondel is a “steed,” a “hevi stede,” and a “deistrer” (e.g. *BH*, 1247, 1253, 4064), all terms for the warhorse, but he is also called a “palfrei” and even a “rounci” (*BH*, 1353, 3585): this poet is less precise about breed terminology than Chrétien or Chaucer. So closely does the Auchinleck poet identify Arondel with Bevis that in Bevis’s first battle, before he is knighted and before Josian presents him with the steed, he is said to be riding Arondel: *BH*, 585–90.

58. Díaz de Gámez, *The Unconquered Knight*, trans. Evans, 11; *El Victorial*, 231: “Ansí, se falla que cavallos algunos fueron leales a sus señores en los tiempos de la priesa, como si fueran hombres. Fállase de los buenos cavallos que son fuertes, e acuçiosos, e ligeros, e leales; ansí que un buen hombre fará ençima de un buen cavallo más que farán otros diez, e aún podrá ser más que çiento, en una ora, en una batalla; e por ende, este tal deve ser llamado cavallero.” Bruce Thomas Boehrer, *Animal Characters: Nonhuman Beings in Early Modern Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 28–73, traces the medieval legacy of the ideal warhorse in early modern literature.

59. Ralph R. Acampora, *Corporal Compassion: : Animal Ethics and Philosophy of Body* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2006), 85.

60. Johnson, *Persons and Things*, 190, commenting on Paul De Man, “Anthropomorphism and Trope in the Lyric,” *The Rhetoric of Romanticism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 239–62.

61. Instances of this critique of anthropomorphism are Lorraine Daston, “Intelligences: Angelic, Animal, Human,” in Lorraine Daston and Gregg Mitman, eds. *Thinking with Animals: New Perspectives on Anthropomorphism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 37–58; and Tom Tyler, “If Horses Had Hands. . .” *Society & Animals* 11, 3 (2003): 267–81.

62. Tyler, “If Horses Had Hands,” 277.

63. Caxton, *Ordre of Chivalry*, 123. My italics.

64. Xenophon, *On the Art of Horsemanship*, 11:6 (354–55). Jordanus Rufus makes similar observations: *La science du cheval au Moyen Age: Le “Traité d’hippiatrie” de Jordanus Rufus*, ed. Prévot, 39–40.

65. Vinciane Despret, “The Body We Care For : Figures of Anthro-po-zoo-genesis,” *Body and Society* 10 (2004): 111–34; quotation 115. Her use of the term “mind” refers to a question widely discussed in philosophical and biological studies: see Marc Bekoff, *Minding Animals: Awareness, Emotions, and Heart* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); and above, Introduction, note 8.

66. Usāmah ibn Munkid, *Autobiography of Ousāma*, 54; French translation cited in Flori, *Chevaliers et chevalerie au Moyen Age*, 94. Mutual confidence of this kind is central in two influential analyses of animal training, despite their differences on other points: Donna J. Haraway, *When Species Meet* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008); Vicki Hearne, *Adam’s Task: Calling Animals by Name* (New York: Knopf, 1986).

67. Recall the carter urging his horses to pull with “Hayt, Brok! Hayt, Scot!” in Chaucer’s *Friar’s Tale*, in *The Riverside Chaucer*, line III 1543.

68. Heini K. P. Hediger, “The Clever Hans Phenomenon from an Animal Psychologist’s Point of View,” in *The Clever Hans Phenomenon: Communication with Horses, Whales, Apes, and People*, ed. Thomas A. Sebeok and Robert Rosenthal, Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 364 (New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1981), 8. At this point Hediger is discussing the use of speech in training lions and tigers. Hearne, *Adam’s Task*, 111, describes horse trainers “sit[ting] still psychically, listening . . . in order to inhabit the world knowable to horses. Here, they start ‘hearing’ the horse’s skin, and in doing so become comprehensible in their own skins to the horse.” See also Mary Douglas, “Do Dogs Laugh? A Cross-Cultural Approach to Body Symbolism,” in *Implicit Meanings: Essays in Anthropology* (London: Routledge, 1975), 83–89.

69. Despret, “Body,” 130, discussing Konrad Lorenz’s work with jackdaws and waterfowl.

70. William II of Albini, first Earl of Arundel, came into control of the town of Arundel when he married Adeliza of Louvain, the widow of King Henry I: Judith Weiss, “The Date of the Anglo-Norman *Boeve de Haumtone*,” *Medium Aevum* 55 (1986): 237–41.

71. Ursula K. Heise, “The Android and the Animal,” *PMLA* 124 (2009): 509.

72. Ibid.

73. Cited in Verbruggen, *The Art of Warfare in Western Europe During the Middle Ages*, 29; Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. William Stubbs, 4 vols., *Rerum britannicarum medii ævi scriptores* 51 (Weisbaden: Kraus, 1964), 2:166–67. Stubbs points out that the passage is a citation from Seneca.

74. Thomas Gray, *Scalacronica 1272–1363*, ed. and trans. Andy King (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), 82–83: “ferrent lez cheueaux hu buaillis, qengetterent lour meystres. . . . Furount lessetz mortz, pris .l. cheueaux de pris.”

75. Ibid.: “Sire cheualer, vous y estes venuz cheualer erraunt, pur faire cel healme estre conuz, et si est meutz seaunt chos, qe cheualry en soit fait a cheual, qe a pee, ou couenablement ceo purra faire; mountez uostre cheual, veez la voz enemys.”

76. Alongside his ancestral claim, further ideological formations occasionally justify Bevis’s chivalric violence, such as refuting false accusations of treason, demonstrating love during courtship, defending the weak and the just, and supporting Christian endeavors.

77. More examples of objections to killing horses in chivalric contexts: *L’âtre périlleux: Roman de la Table Ronde*, ed. Brian Woledge (Paris: Champion, 1936), lines 2341–59; Chrétien de Troyes, *Le chevalier au Lion (Yvain)*, ed. Mario Roques, *Classiques français du Moyen Age* 89 (Paris: Champion, 1960), lines 855–58; see also Jeremy Withers, “The Ecology of Late Medieval Warfare in Lydgate’s *Debate of the Horse, Goose, and Sheep*,” *ISLE: Interdisciplinary Studies in Literature and Environment* 18 (2011): 104–22.

78. The practice was not common, but lasted into the eighteenth century; both lay and ecclesiastical courts of law judged and punished animals: Esther Cohen, *The Crossroads of Justice: Law and Culture in Late Medieval France* (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 100–33; Peter Dinzelbacher, “Animal Trials: A Multidisciplinary Approach,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 32 (2002): 405–21.

79. Acampora, *Corporal Compassion*, 5; Simon P. James, *The Presence of Nature: A Study in Phenomenology and Environmental Philosophy* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 40; see also Simon Glendinning, *On Being with Others: Heidegger—Derrida—Wittgenstein* (London: Routledge, 1998), 70–75.

80. Simon P. James, “Phenomenology and the Problem of Animal Minds,” *Environmental Values* 18 (2009): 41.

81. Acampora, *Corporal Compassion*, 82.

82. Cora Diamond, “The Difficulty of Reality and the Difficulty of Philosophy,” in Stanley Cavell, Cora Diamond, John McDowell, Ian Hacking, and Cary Wolfe, *Philosophy and Animal Life* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 53.

83. Ibid., 53, 58.

84. Ibid., 59.

85. Ibid. A complementary argument for basing ethical stances in the condition of vulnerability is Anat Pick, *Creaturely Poetics: Animality and Vulnerability in Literature and Film* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011).

86. Dubost, “De quelques chevaux extraordinaires,” 192–93, provides anecdotes of horses dying at the death of their masters. Isidore and the bestiaries say of horses, “interfectis uel morientibus dominis multi lacrimas fundunt. Solum enim equum propter hominem lacrimare et doloris affectum sentire” (many of them shed tears when their master dies or is killed, for only the horse weeps and feels grief over humans): Isidore, *Etymologies: Livre XII*, ed. André, 12.1:41 (68–69). Bucephalus weeps at Alexander’s deathbed and dies there

before Alexander in *The Greek Alexander Romance*, trans. Richard Stoneman (New York: Penguin, 1991), 152, 157.

87. It might seem these lines are merely conveying a hyperbole (“prayer would be appropriate for a horse so superlative”) or a marvel (“prayer would be appropriate for a horse so wondrous”). In order to parse the couplet so, one must disregard its syntax: the couplet is not a tentative assertion but an assertion followed by a demurral.

88. Diamond, “Difficulty of Reality,” 61.

CONCLUSION

1. Augustine of Hippo, *De moribus Manichaeorum*, PL 32:1370 (2.17.59): “Videmus enim et vocibus sentimus, cum dolore mori animantia, quod quidem homo contemnit in bestia, cum qua scilicet rationalem animam non habente, nulla legis societate copulatur.”

2. *Sydrac le philosophe: Le livre de la fontaine de toutes sciences*, ed. Ernstpeter Ruhe (Wiesbaden: L. Reichert, 2000), 194 (Question 497): “ne les mette em peinne et faces languir; lesses les aler, tu auras pitié en toi. Pren garde a toi meesmes: qui te metroit em peinne ou em prison, il te sembleroit moult grief et molt grant angoisse aroies; autretel semble il a cele foible creature.” On the popularity of this text, see *Sidrak and Bokkus*, ed. T. L. Burton, 2 vols., EETS o.s. 311–12 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998–99), 1:xxxii–xxxvi. The Middle English translation has an analogous entry urging that even poisonous snakes should not be killed if they are not posing an immediate danger: *Sidrak and Bokkus*, 2:600–601 (Question 325).

3. *Sydrac le philosophe*, 194 (Question 497): “Qui delivre creature qui est em peinne ou em prison, sachiez, celui fet grant pitié. Soit oisel ou beste ou homme et il les delivre, il a en soi moult tres durement grant pitié.” *Sidrak and Bokkus*, 2:600 (Question 325), begins similarly: “Iff that thou in paine se / Manne other beste, whether hit be, / Thanne shalt thou have pite of the sight / And delivere hem if thou might.”

4. Bede, prose *Life of Saint Cuthbert*, in *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert*, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940), 224–25: “Nulli autem videatur absurdum a volatilibus formam discere virtutis.”

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